CHAPTER I

"THEIR RENOWNED POET"

I

Nearly four hundred years and a long geographical and cultural distance separate the Roman poet Vergil, who was born in northern Italy, from Augustine, who began his professional life as a grammarian and rhetor of the Latin language in Roman North Africa. Later, like many other talented men of his time, Augustine converted to Christianity and then became a monk, priest, and bishop.[1] Vergil lived in a very different world. In 70 B.C., the year of his birth, the Romans had only recently gained control over his homeland, but in the African province of Numidia, where Augustine was born in 354 A.D., the Roman presence went back nearly half a millennium. Vergil lived during the period when the procedures of Roman imperial governance that were to endure for centuries were being established, and Augustine, in his later years, witnessed the beginnings of their disintegration. But Vergil's lines and many of his ideas and feelings accompanied Augustine throughout his long life as though no time at all had elapsed since Vergil lived and worked. Vergil's poetry moved the young Augustine to

1. On Augustine's career as grammarian and rhetor, see Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, pp. 246–247; see now, further to this pioneering work about the cultural role of grammarians, Sandrine Agusta-Boularot, "Les références épigraphiques aux *grammatici* et ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΙ de l'empire romain, Ier s. av. J.-C.—IVe s. ap. J.-C.," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Antiquité* 106, no. 2 (1994): 653–746. On the Vergilius Romanus, source for the frontispiece and other illustrations in this book, see David H. Wright, *Codicological Notes on the Vergilius Romanus (Vat. lat. 3867)*, pp. 9–12, for the date.

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tears, and as an old man, Augustine the bishop continued to remember the words of the "renowned poet," the "most noble poet," with whom he now profoundly disagreed, but who remained unforgettable nonetheless. This long relationship between the Roman poet and the Christian bishop is testimony, of course, to the ample and retentive memories of people who lived in what was still, despite much literacy, an oral culture in which texts were spoken and thus sounded, deeply and tenaciously, in the mind and the soul.[2] The relationship is also an example of this culture's profound continuities that endured long beyond the demise of the Roman Empire in the western Mediterranean.[3] But what is really at issue is a matter both more subtle and more profound. This is the nature of Vergil's poetry, which spoke to its countless readers so as to evoke, whether by way of imiation, of adaptation, or of contradiction, what those readers had all along wanted to say in their own right.[4]

Not much is known about Vergil's life beyond its outlines. In the mid-fourth century, around the time when Augustine was entering school in his small hometown of Thagaste, Aelius Donatus, "grammarian of the city of Rome,"[5] wrote a brief biographical study of Vergil in which he resumed earlier information, most of which came from the now lost *Life* of Vergil by the erudite Suetonius.[6] Some further short biographies, including those by

2. For poeta insignis illorum, see Augustine, *De civitate dei* V.12; nobilissimus eorum poeta, ibid. XV.9; nobilis poeta ibid. XXI.6; similar expressions recur in this work and elsewhere in Augustine, e.g., *De civitate dei* IV.11 and X.27 poeta nobilissimus; XIV.5 locutor nobilis; *Enchiridion* 17, apud illum summum poetam.

3. Charles Witke, *Numen litterarum. The Old and the New in Latin Poetry from Constantine to Gregory the Great*; Jacques Fontaine, *Naissance de la poésie dans l'occident chrétien;* Michael Roberts, *The Jeweled Style. Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity.*

4. Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, remains unsurpassed and, despite the title, traces Vergil's influence from the beginning; Pierre Courcelle, *Lecteurs païens et lecteurs chrétiens de l'Énéide. I. Les témoinages littéraires*, although lacking adequate indices, is a monumental achievement; for the early commentaries on Vergil and related materials, see Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture. "Grammatica" and Literary Theory 350–1100;* Theodore Ziolkowski, *Virgil and the Moderns;* for the scholarly reception of Vergil, see Hans Oppermann, ed., *Wege zu Vergil. Drei Jahrzehnte Begegnungen in Dichtung und Wissenschaft;* cf. below, n. 24. Michael von Albrecht, *A History of Roman Literature*, a work of impressive scholarship, is valuable on Vergil (pp. 664–710) and his influence. This work was published after my typescript went to press.

5. The precise dates are obscure; see J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome. His Life, Writings and Controversies*, pp. 10–14; Louis Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical*, pp. 15–16. On Vergil's life, see now von Albrecht, *A History*, pp. 667–669.

6. On the career and writings of Aelius Donatus, see Holtz, *Donat;* Kaster, *Guardians of Language*, pp. 275–278; for a review of arguments for the Suetonian character of Donatus' *Vita* of Vergil, see H. Naumann, "Noch einmal: Suetons Virgil-Vita," *Philologus* 118 (1974): 131–144; cf. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 85 (1981):185–187; H. Naumann and G. Brugnoli, "Vitae Vergilianae," in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* V.1, pp. 570–588.

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the grammarians Servius and Probus, add a few modifications but little new material. An additional detail comes from the Roman senator Macrobius, who in c. 431 A.D. composed a learned dialogue that centers on Vergil's poetry.[7] Donatus and Servius wrote about Vergil's life by way of providing an introduction to their commentaries on his works, and these commentaries in turn were designed to assist teachers of literature, *grammatici,* who provided instruction in Roman schools. As Servius expressed it: "In explaining authors, the following topics must be covered: the life of the poet, the title of the work, the nature of the poem, the intention of the writer, the number of books, their order, and their exegesis."[8]

In this context, therefore, biography was an investigation of an author's character and experience insofar as these helped elucidate his work as studied by the young. This kind of biography accordingly was a narrowly focused genre not primarily designed to satisfy discursive human

7. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* (ed. J. Willis), I.24.11, about correspondence between Vergil and Augustus; on the date of Macrobius, see the now classic article by Alan Cameron, "The Date and Identity of Macrobius," *Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966): 25–38; see also Philippe Bruggisser, "Précaution de Macrobe et datation de Servius," *Museum Helveticum* 41 (1984): 162–173, placing the height of Servius' working life between 394 and 409 A.D.; further, Holtz, *Donat,* pp. 223–230. The lives of Vergil have been edited by C. Hardie, *Vitae Vergilianae antiquae,* which includes the *Vitae* by Donatus, Servius, Probus, and Focas and the excerpts about Vergil from the *Chronicle* of Jerome; the edition by I. Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae,* contains the *Vita* by Donatus, including Donatus' introduction to the *Eclogues,* along with the *Vitae* that were also edited by Hardie, plus the *Vita* by Philargyrius and the *Vita Noricensis,* the *Vita Monacensis,* the *Vitae Guadianae,* and the *Vita Bernensis;* about the *Vitae* by Donatus, Servius, and Probus, see Eduard Norden, "De vitis Vergilianis," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 61 (1906): 166–177.

8. Servius, Introduction to *In Vergilii Aeneidos librum primum commentarius* (ed. G. Thilo), p. 1: in exponendis auctoribus haec consideranda sunt: poetae vita, titulus operis, qualitas carminis, scribentis intentio, numerus librorum, ordo librorum, explanatio; the same requirements are cited in the *Vita I Guadiana* (ed. Brummer), p. 60; see also Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Brummer), p. 11, from Donatus' introduction to the *Eclogues;* on the Hellenistic origins of the scheme, see Denis van Berchem, "Poètes et grammariens. Récherche sur la tradition scolaire d'explication des auteurs," *Museum Helveticum* 9 (1952): 79–87. One of the Vindolanda writing tablets, citing *Aeneid* IX.473, may come from an instructional context dating to the years 97–102/3; see Alan K. Bowman and J. David Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses II)* (London 1994), pp. 65–67. On the relationship between the Vergil commentary by Servius, the *Servius Auctus,* also known as *Scholia Danielis,* and the lost commentary by Donatus on which Servius draws, see G. P. Goold, "Servius and the Helen Episode," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74 (1970): 101–168, also in S. J. Harrison, ed., *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid,* pp. 60–126, at pp. 61 ff.; Robert B. Lloyd, "Republican Authors in Servius and the Scholia Danielis," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 65 (1961): 291–341. Servius wrote in the earlier fifth century, but his commentary incorporated earlier material, especially from Donatus who in turn drew on his predecessors. Aulus Gellius refers to commentaries on Vergil that were available in his day; see *Noctes Atticae* II.6.1, Cornutus Annaeus and other grammatici aetatis superioris; VII.20.1, scriptum in quodam commentario; further, Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Per la storia della filolgia Virgiliana antica.*

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curiosity. Instead, it helped to explain and establish the canonicity and authority of certain writings.[9]

We thus learn, much as Augustine and his contemporaries are likely to have done, that Publius Vergilius Maro was born in the village of Andes near Mantua, in the year when Pompey and Crassus were consuls. His father worked the land, and his mother's name was Magia Polla.[10] Vergil studied first in Cremona and then in Milan, Rome, and Naples.[11] During the Roman civil wars, the family's small plot, laboriously acquired, was confiscated for Octavian's soldiers, but was later restored.[12] Vergil's late antique commentators endeavored, persistently but not altogether successfully, to disentangle the precise nature of these events by identifying Vergil with characters who figure in his first and ninth eclogues.[13] The *Eclogues* were Vergil's first published work, to be followed, in 30 B.C., by the *Georgics*, which conclude with a statement in which the poet did speak in his own voice:

> This much have I sung about caring for fields and animals,
> and for trees, while great Caesar has wielded his thunder in war
> upon the remote Euphrates, and now as victor gives laws
> to willing nations, preparing his path to Olympus.

9. See now, for Virgil's life, Peter White, *Promised Verse. Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome*, pp. 254–265; on literary biography, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius. The Scholar and His Caesars*, pp. 50–60; further, Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography*, chapter 4.

10. Probus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie), p. 26.

11. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 7, p. 8, Cremona, Milan, Rome; Servius, *Vita* (ed. Hardie), p. 21, Cremona, Milan, Naples.

12. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 1, p. 6, on the hardships of acquiring the farm; on confiscation, Servius, *Vita* (ed. Hardie), p. 22; Probus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie), p. 26.

13. Servius, Filargirius, Probus, and the *Scholia Bernensia* all identify Vergil with Tityrus, who speaks in Eclogue I; e.g., Servius, *In Vergilii Bucolicon librum commentarius* (ed. G. Thilo) 1,2: Tityri sub persona Vergilium debemus accipere; non tamen ubique, sed tantum ubi exigit ratio. In Eclogue IX, Servius sees Vergil in Menalcas, and Moeris is Vergil's servant (comments on IX.1; 10; 16). Filargirius *Explanatio in Bucolica* IX.1 (printed in *Appendix Serviana*) says: Lycida idest Cornelius Gallus, Moeris idest Vergilius. The *Scholia Bernensia* in the introduction to *Ecloga* IX state: In hac ecloga Moeris, id est Virgilius, fingit se ad querelas iturum Romam; nam cum Claudio quodam milite communem agrum possidebat, a quo paene fuerat occisus. Quidam autem dicunt, primitus agros ab Pollione Vergilio redditos; postquam autem Varus successit Pollioni, adempti sunt. Hinc Romam pergit, et Cornelius adque Macer illi consilium dant, sub quorum persona hanc eclogam texit. Allegorice Lycida Cornelius Gallus, Moeris Virgilius, vel amicus eius aequalis vel Aemilius Macer intellegitur. Parts of a similar story are recounted by Servius, *In Verg. Buc.* IX.1. See also Donatus in the *Vita Donatiana* (ed. Brummer), pp.15–16, followed by Servius, Preface to *In Verg. Buc.*, pp. 2–3. Modern scholars have persevered in trying to disentangle biographical and historical from poetic events. For a critical view of such efforts, see Charles Segal, "Tamen cantabitis, Arcades: Exile and Arcadia in Eclogues I and IX," *Arion* 4, no. 2 (1965): 237–266 (reprinted in his *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral*); see now Wendell Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil* Eclogues, pp. 29–33, 266–268.

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In that same time, I Vergil was nourished by gentle Parthenope,
prospering with my verses in undistinguished ease,
having made songs about shepherds, and, while still a daring
young man,
Tityrus, of you I sang in the shade of a far-spreading beech tree.

Haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.[14]

The *Aeneid*, Vergil's epic that comprised, as Servius expressed it, "all of Roman history from the coming of Aeneas to the poet's own time,"[15] occupied the last eleven years of his life. According to Donatus and Servius,[16] the work did not originally begin with the famous "arma virumque cano," but with a further statement that reiterated and continued what Vergil had said about himself at the end of the *Georgics:*

I am he who once composed my song on a slender reed pipe,
then left the forests to master the neighboring fields
so that they yielded to the eager husbandman,
a work the farmers welcomed, but now the horror of war,
arms and the man I sing.

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi
ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis
arma virumque cano.[17]

14. Vergil, *Georgica* IV.559–566. Parthenope: one of the Sirens, who was revered in Naples. Vergil allows his reader to think either of the city or of the Siren (perhaps she taught him to sing her verses?) or both. Translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

15. Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* VI.752; note the further statements given here about the historical dimensions of the *Aeneid*, which should be compared with Servius' description of epic poetry in his preface to the commentary on the *Aeneid* (ed. Thilo), p. 4. See also Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 21, p. 11: novissime et Aeneida incohavit, argumentum varium ac multiplex et quasi amborum Homeri carminum instar, praeterea nominibus ac rebus Graecis Latinisque commune, et in quo, quod maxime studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur. Vergil's borrowings from Homer occupied ancient and late antique critics extensively, cf. below, Chapter II, nn. 135–139.

16. Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* I, preface, p. 2 (ed. Thilo); Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 42, p. 16.

17. Ibid. Modern scholars consider the verses to be apocryphal; see Otto Ribbeck's edition, *Aeneidos Libri I-VI* (Leipzig 1895); R. G. Austin, *P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidos Liber I* (Oxford 1971), pp. 25–27; Timpanaro, *Storia*, pp. 17–18.

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In his epitaph, Vergil said more briefly and simply:

> Mantua bore me, in Calabria I died and now I rest
> in Parthenope; I sang of pastures, fields, and great men.
>
> Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
> Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.[18]

As understood by his ancient and late antique readers, therefore, Vergil had written about all aspects of human experience, beginning, in the *Eclogues*, with the pastoral life that represented the earliest forms of human culture and society, and going on, in the *Georgics*, to agriculture and thence, in the *Aeneid*, to warfare and the foundation of cities.[19]

Vergil wrote with much care and reflection. When working on the *Georgics*, according to Donatus, he was accustomed to dictate verses every morning and then, revising during the rest of the day, he would reduce them to a considerably smaller number. He gave birth to the poem, so he said, like a bear gives birth to her cubs, licking them into shape once they were born. As for the *Aeneid*, it was also composed slowly over a period of years. Donatus recorded that Vergil had begun with a prose outline in twelve books and that, in order not to interrupt the flow of composition, he had left some verses incomplete or in a preliminary form, to be reviewed later. "Jokingly he said that he had placed these by way of scaffolding to sustain the work, until solid columns could be brought in."[20] This care in composition was matched by Vergil's reluctance to bring before the public any part of his work that he did not consider fully finished.[21] In part, perhaps, composition was slow because Vergil was a man of much learning. In the biography, Donatus mentioned specifically Vergil's studies in mathematics and medicine;[22] Probus and Servius mentioned philosophy.[23] Further dimensions in the poet's erudition were highlighted by those who studied and commented on his works. Donatus, Servius, and Macrobius were thus interested in Vergil's antiquarian scholarship and

18. This famous epitaph, attributed to Vergil himself, is given by Donatus in the *Vita* (ed. Hardie), 36, p. 14, and in several other places.

19. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Brummer), pp. 13–14 (not printed by Hardie, see his note on his line 199).

20. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 23–24, p. 11; the story about the bear and her cubs is also in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XVII.10,1.

21. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 33, p. 13.

22. Ibid. 15, p. 9.

23. Secutus Epicuri sectam, Probus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie), p. 27; note also the frequent references by Servius in the commentaries to Vergil's Epicurean ideas, e.g., *In Verg. Buc.* VI.13; VIII.17; *In Verg. Georg.* IV.219; *In Verg. Aen.* I.331; II.515, 536, 646; IV.34, 379, 584; VI.264, 376, 885; VII.4; X.467, 487.

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choice of vocabulary and also in his deployment and reformulation of themes from Homer and Homeric commentaries, from Hellenistic poets, and from Italian and Roman traditions.[24] In particular, Vergil's interpretation of episodes in the legendary history of Italy and Rome entailed complex choices among conflicting and incompatible views of the past.

An example is Vergil's rendering of the story of the legendary founders of Rome, the twin brothers Romulus and Remus. The war between Octavian and Sextus Pompey for control of the western Mediterranean led Vergil's friend Horace to compare these conflicts of his own time to the crime of Romulus, who had killed the innocent Remus at the very moment of Rome's inauguration. It was a prophetic, tone-giving deed, for, as Horace saw matters during this period, a blind fratricidal fury seemed to have been at work in Roman history ever since that foundational moment:

> It is thus: a harsh fate drives the Romans,
> the crime of fratricide, when
> the blood of innocent Remus flowed on the earth,
> a curse on all his descendants.
>
> sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt
> scelusque fraternae necis,
> ut inmerentis fluxit in terram Remi
> sacer nepotibus cruor:[25]

But such was not the view that Vergil took when, during these same years, he was working on the *Georgics* and later on the *Aeneid*. Vergil did not like straightforwardly paradigmatic stories; insofar as myths and legends contained lessons for the present, he therefore extrapolated these lessons indirectly, "in the manner of poets," as his late antique commentators so often noted.[26] In addition, Vergil was interested in the branch of the legends of Romulus and Remus that pointed to harmony between the two brothers and thus to the potential for harmony within Roman society. The Italian farmer, Vergil wrote in the *Georgics*, is unmoved by the affairs of the great

24. See A. T. Grafton and N. M. Swerdlow, "Greek Chronography in Roman Epic: The Calendrical Date of the Fall of Troy in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986): 212–218; Robin Schlunk, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid. A Study of the Influence of Ancient Homeric Criticism on Vergil;* Richard Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, remains unsurpassed (the English translation, *Virgil's Epic Technique [with a preface by Antonie Wlosok]* [Berkeley 1993] is useful but lacks the precision and elegance of Heinze's German).

25. Horace, *Epode* VII.17–20; Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace*, pp. 55–56, proposes 38/36 B.C. as the date of the poem; White, *Promised Verse*, p. 161 with note 8, "the middle 30s." Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, chapter 18, contextualizes the literary creations of those years within political events in the wider world. For a less gloomy view, see now Elaine Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture*.

26. Servius, *In Verg. Georg.* I.532; *In Verg. Aen.* I.254; VI.64, 127, 659, 741; XII.725.

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Figure 1. The simplicity and grace of life in the country as described by Vergil in the *Georgics*: a herdsman listens to his companion playing the flute while dogs, goats, and horses disport themselves in a flowery meadow. A reed shelter with a drinking flask suspended at its entrance will offer protection from heat and rain. Source: Vergilius Romanus, fol. 44v.

world, by warfare, politics, and the acquisition of property; instead, the farmer follows his daily tasks, the order of which is given by the seasons:

> This life the ancient Sabines lived of old,
> and Remus with his brother; thus strong Etruria grew,
> and thus did Rome become the fairest of all things
> surrounding her seven hills within a single wall.
> Even before the rule of Jupiter, and likewise before
> a haughty race feasted on slaughtered cattle,
> Saturn lived such a life on earth during the golden age.
> At that time, men had not yet heard the trumpet blown,
> not listened to the sword blade clanking on the anvil.

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hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.
ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis,
aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis.[27]

Vergil thus placed the foundation of Rome within a pastoral golden age that was not disturbed by brotherly envy and competition for power. In the *Aeneid,* similarly, when Jupiter foretells the future of Rome, Romulus appears as the eponymous founder of the city, without any mention of fraternal discord. In due course, so the god prophesies, Julius Caesar will be born, and finally, in the age of Augustus, Romulus, under his divine name Quirinus, will make laws alongside his brother:

The iron age will then grow mild and wars will cease;
white-haired Good Faith with Vesta, and Quirinus with Remus
his brother
will make the laws; the grim steel welded gates of war shall shut.

aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae.[28]

Conflict between Romulus and Remus was thus never explicitly mentioned by Vergil. Not that he did not perceive a dark side to Roman history—but he expressed it in other ways.[29] However, Vergil's late antique commentators were used to the familiar tale about the twins and commented accordingly. In his paraphrase of the *Aeneid,* Tiberius Claudius Donatus thus glossed the words "Quirinus with Remus his brother will make the laws" with the simple statement: "that is, the laws of Romulus will endure."[30] The grammarian Servius, perceiving a dissonance between what Vergil had said and the customary story, tried to adjust Vergil's sense in light of that story. Commenting on "Quirinus with Remus," he suggested

27. *Georgica* II.532–540; translation with help from L. P. Wilkinson.

28. *Aeneid* I.291–294; translation with help from C. Day Lewis. See also *Aeneid* VIII. 631–634, on the wolf and the twins; T. P. Wiseman, *Remus. A Roman Myth;* T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 B.C.)* (London 1995), pp. 57–63.

29. For this aspect of the *Aeneid,* see W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible. A Study of Vergil's Aeneid,* to be consulted with Wlosok (below, n. 62; see also below, Chapter V, n. 93).

30. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae* (ed. H. Georgii), *ad loc.* (p. 64).

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that Vergil was referring to the time after Remus had been killed, when Romulus performed the public rituals in his own and his brother's name in order to expiate the murder. Elsewhere, Servius observed that as an act of expiation, an empty curule chair with a scepter, crown, and royal insignia was placed next to Romulus whenever he performed an official act, so that Romulus and Remus "should be seen to be ruling together." In a different sense, Servius thought, Vergil was describing the return of Rome's earliest days in his own time. Here, Quirinus stood for Augustus while, "speaking in the manner of poets," Remus was Agrippa, "who took the daughter of Augustus as his wife and fought his wars with him." Finally, the brothers Quirinus and Remus quite simply represented the Roman people.[31] Although Vergil's commentators did not always interpret Vergil in strict accord with what he had actually written, they did seek to appreciate their poet's scholarship and erudition by matching it with their own.[32]

According to Donatus, who ascribed the information to a certain Melissus,[33] Vergil was initially to have become a lawyer, but he pleaded only one case and then abandoned this career because he spoke too slowly.[34] Also, Vergil looked like a man of the countryside,[35] and he was shy, so that the noisy and competitive life of the law courts did not suit him.[36] Altogether, he preferred to live not in Rome but in one of his country retreats; and when he did come to the city, he liked to escape from the admirers who wanted to meet him by vanishing into some nearby edifice.[37] Perhaps this was why Vergil's younger contemporary, Ovid, who was far from shy, remembered merely seeing the admired poet at a distance with-

31. Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* I.276, 292. If identifications must be made, interpreting Quirinus and Remus as Augustus and Agrippa would seem to be closest to Vergil's sense because the passage as a whole (*Aeneid* I. 257–297) describes a chronological progression from Rome's beginnings to Vergil's own time (contra, Binder [below, n. 43], p. 3). See also the careful discussion by Philippe Bruggisser, *Romulus Servianus. La légende de Romulus dans les Commentaires à Virgile de Servius: mythographie et idéologie à l'époque de la dynastie théodosienne*, pp. 84–106.

32. Note, for example, Servius' scruples in *In Verg. Aen.* VI.779. Having reported one of the accounts about Remus' murder, Servius concludes: fabulosum enim est quod a fratre propter muros dicitur interemptus. It is not, however, clear whether Servius is sceptical about the story because Vergil did not include it in the *Aeneid* or because it cast a negative light on Rome (see further below, Chapter V, n. 140, for Augustine's criticism of Rome by reference to the fratricide). For further erudite information about Romulus and Remus, see *In Verg. Aen.* I.273, 291; VI. 777, 779, 783, 859; VII.187. Cf. below, Chapter V, nn. 13–21.

33. This is perhaps the Melissus Spoletinus mentioned by Jerome, *Chronicon* (ed. Rudolf Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Berlin 1956) *ad annum* 4 B.C.

34. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 15–16, p. 9; see also Seneca Maior, *Controversiae* (ed. Lennart Håkanson, Leipzig 1989) III, praef. 8: Vergil had no talent for prose: Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit; Vergilium illa felicitas ingenii in oratione soluta reliquit.

35. Facie rusticana, Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 8, p. 8

36. On his early inclination for poetry, see Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 17, p. 9.

37. Ibid. 11, p. 9.

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out being able to exchange any words with him.[38] To Horace, however, Vergil was close and dear, so that, when Vergil left Italy on a voyage to Greece, Horace implored the ship that was to carry his beloved friend:

> Ship to whom is entrusted
> Vergil, and him you owe me: from Attic lands
> bring him back safe and sound, I pray,
> and save for me the half of my own soul.
>
> navis, quae tibi creditum
> debes Vergilium, finibus Atticis
> reddas incolumem, precor,
> et serves animae dimidium meae.[39]

Despite his retiring ways, Vergil was famous. In lines that were quoted by Aelius Donatus, the poet Propertius thus expressed his realization that with the *Aeneid*, Roman literature had attained a certain parity in relation to the daunting achievements of Homer and the Greeks:

> Make way you Roman writers, make way you Greeks!
> Something greater than the Iliad is coming to birth.
>
> cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai!
> nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.[40]

Propertius was not the only one among Vergil's contemporaries to think in this way, not the only poet to pay compliments to Vergil by alluding in his own verses to the themes that were being unfolded in the *Aeneid*.[41] Even the emperor Augustus took an interest in the poem's progress and wanted to see a first draft or some extract.[42] As Tiberius Claudius Donatus and

38. Ovid, *Tristia* IV.10.41.

39. Horace, *Odes* I.3.5–8. Horace's commentator Pomponius Porphyrion, *Commentum in Horatium Flaccum* (ed. Alfred Holder, Innsbruck 1894), explained the urgency of the poet's prayer by quoting the philosophical tradition on which it was based: *animae dimidium meae.* suaviter hoc dictum secundum illam amicitiae definitionem qua philosophi utuntur: Μία ψυχὴ ἐν δυσὶν σώμασι κειμένη. The fact that Horace reformulated what most likely was a familiar statement intensified its message.

40. Propertius, *Elegies* II.34.65–66, translation after Goold, who in turn followed Ezra Pound; see G. P. Goold (ed. and tr.) *Propertius, Elegies* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990), note on II.34.65.

41. On Propertius' allusions to all of Vergil's works in *Elegies* II.34.61–84, see the commentary by Petrus Johannes Enk, *Sexti Propertii Elegiarum Liber secundus cum prolegomenis, conspectu librorum et commentationum* (Leyden 1962). On the impact of the *Aeneid* on Horace, see Fraenkel, *Horace*, pp. 375, 421, 430, 452. Cf. below, Chapter III, n. 4.

42. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 31–32, pp. 12–13; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.24.11, cites Vergil's letter to Augustus to the effect that he had as yet nothing to send; see White, *Promised Verse*, pp. 115–116 with nn. 10–12. On Vergil's growing fame, see further, Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 26, p. 12, Bucolica eo successu edidit, ut in scena quoque per cantores crebro

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Servius perceived it, such interest arose naturally from the content of the work, in which Vergil expressed "the praises of Augustus through his ancestors,"[43] among whom was Aeneas himself. But the *Aeneid* also had a more intimate and human dimension, as when Vergil, describing Aeneas' visit to the other world, had touched on the premature death of the young Marcellus, son of Augustus' sister, Octavia. Speaking in the person of Anchises, the first progenitor of the Roman people, Vergil had written:

> Alas, child to be pitied, if you might only outlive your cruel fate,
> you shall be Marcellus. Give me lilies from full hands,
> and I shall scatter purple flowers, and honor my descendant's soul
> offering these gifts at least, and bestowing thereby
> an ineffectual homage.
>
> heu miserande puer, siqua fata aspera rumpas,
> tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis,
> purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
> his saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani
> munere.[44]

According to Servius, Octavia broke down in helpless tears when listening to these verses during a private recitation at which Vergil himself was present.[45]

The *Aeneid* remained unfinished when Vergil died, with revisions pending and a number of the lines that had been placed as "scaffolding" still to be completed. Rumor soon reported that Vergil had ordered the poem to be burned rather than allowing it to be published in an incomplete state. Instead of obeying this instruction, however, Vergil's friends Varius Rufus and Plotius Tucca, with the support of Augustus, reviewed, cor-

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pronuntiarentur. Given that the *Eclogues* (except IV) are formulated as dialogues or recitals, this was, of course, an appropriate manner of performance. For adaptations of Vergil for presentation on the stage, see White, *Promised Verse*, p. 53, n. 45. Vergil himself received public homage such as was matched only by the homage bestowed on the exalted person of Augustus when the entire people would rise to their feet when Vergil was present while his verses were being recited in the theatre: Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* XIII.1–2.

43. Servius, Introduction to *In Verg. Aen.*, p. 4, intentio Vergilii haec est . . . Augustum laudare a parentibus; also, *In Verg. Aen.* I.286, 291; VIII.678, on the war of Actium, quia belli civilis triumphus turpis videtur, laborat poeta iustum bellum fuisse. Raymond J. Starr, "An Epic of Praise: Tiberius Claudius Donatus and Vergil's *Aeneid*," *Classical Antiquity* 11 (1992): 159–172. The question as to what extent the *Aeneid* praises Augustus and was sponsored by him has been much discussed; see White, *Promised Verse*, pp. 95–109, 132–138 passim, 145–148; Gerhard Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus. Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis.*

44. *Aeneid* VI.882–886.

45. Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* VI.861. *Aeneid* VI.883 is quoted with a similar story about Octavia by Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 32, p. 13.

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rected, and published the text as it stood.[46] This episode exercised the imagination of some later poets, to whom it seemed that Troy, the destruction of which Vergil had described in the second book of the *Aeneid,* had barely escaped the flames a second time.[47] In other respects also, legends were clustering around Vergil's name. Aelius Donatus reported that his mother when pregnant with him had dreamed that she was giving birth to a laurel branch from which grew a handsome tree with diverse fruits and flowers. According to the grammarian Phocas, who wrote in the late fourth century, no dream more true could have risen from the gates of horn.[48] Donatus also reported that as a baby Vergil had never cried and that his gentle expression foreshadowed his exalted destiny. Phocas in turn elaborated these accounts with Vergil's own pastoral imagery: the earth offered flowers, and the universe smiled when the poet was born.[49]

Aelius Donatus taught literature in Rome during the middle decades of the fourth century. The most famous among the students to attend his school was Jerome, who acquired from Donatus the foundations of his awesome learning. Donatus' *Life* of Vergil was based on the section about Vergil in Suetonius' *Lives of Illustrious Men,* and it is from this same source that Jerome extracted the data about Vergil and other poets that he integrated into his Latin translation and continuation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.[50] In addition, it is from Donatus' commentaries on Vergil and Terence that Jerome appears to have adapted his own practice of commenting on Scripture according to the "laws of commentaries, in which many opinions of different authors are set down, either with or without

46. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 39–42, pp. 15–16; see also Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XVII.10.7, on Vergil's request to his friends ut Aeneida, quam nondum satis elimavisset, adolerent. As an example of imperfection in the Aeneid, Gellius then compares Pindar, *Pyth.* I.21 ff., on the eruption of Aetna, with Vergil's handling of the same topic, in *Aeneid* III.570 ff., which latter he finds wanting. This passage from Aulus Gellius was copied by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* V.17.8 ff. On the early reception of Vergil, see the important work by James E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity,* pp. 27–74 passim; also his "Religion, Rhetoric and Editorial Technique: Reconstructing the Classics," in George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams, eds., *Palimpsest. Editorial Theory in the Humanities,* pp. 99–120. See further the edition with commentary by Robert A. Kaster, *Suetonius, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus,* especially sections 16, 20, and 24 (on Caecilius Epirota, Hyginus, and Probus) with Kaster's comments.

47. Willy Schetter, "Drei Epigramme über die Rettung der Aeneis," in his *Kaiserzeit und Spätantike. Kleine Schriften 1957–1992,* ed. Otto Zwierlein, pp. 466–474.

48. On Phocas, see Kaster, *Guardians of Language,* pp. 339–341. On the date of the Vatican Vergil, which, at folio 57r. depicts Vergil's gate of dreams, see David H. Wright, *The Vatican Vergil. A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art,* pp. 84–91.

49. Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Hardie) 3 and 4, p. 7; *Vita Focae* (ed. Hardie)13–16 and 23–30, pp. 31 f., (the text is also printed, along with its preface, in F. Buecheler, A. Riese, and E. Lommatzsch, *Anthologia Latina* I.2 [Amsterdam 1972], number 671); Ludwig Bieler, ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. *Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* II pp. 96–101.

50. The excerpts are reproduced by C. Hardie, *Vitae,* pp. 37–38.

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the names of these authors, leaving it to the reader's judgment to decide which opinion he ought to choose."[51] Donatus' commentary on Vergil followed precisely this method of recording divergent, sometimes incompatible, earlier interpretations and adding his own view where appropriate, thereby leaving the reader to make an autonomous choice among the alternative positions.[52] This commentary circulated rapidly and widely, for Augustine, writing in Africa in 392, already referred to it as a standard work.[53] By that time, Vergil's reputation as, quite simply, "the poet" whom every educated Latin speaker knew well, was both long established and absolutely unchallenged.[54]

II

Vergil's contemporaries could engage with the *Aeneid* as a commentary on recent history and their own experience, seeing that persons and events of the time were included in the poem. They would recognize not only Augustus himself, but also Julius Caesar and Pompey, and Augustus' nephew and prospective successor, Marcellus. Vergil's subsequent readers, by con-

51. Jerome, *In Jeremiam prophetam*, prologus (PL 24, col. 707), with Holtz, *Donat*, pp. 44–46.

52. I take Servius auctus as representing, broadly speaking, the work of Donatus (see Lloyd, "Republican Authors"; on the value of scholarship after Donatus, see David Daintree, "The Virgil Commentary of Aelius Donatus—Black Hole or 'Eminence Grise'?" *Greece and Rome* 37 [1990]: 65–79, where, however, Lloyd's work is overlooked). For an example of divergent interpretations presented along with the commentator's own view, see Servius Auctus, *In Verg. Georg.* IV.219: *HIS QUIDAM SIGNIS ATQUE HAEC EXEMPLA SECUTI Pythagorae sectam versat, quam et Stoici sequuntur. et quidam accusant, quod, cum sit Epicureus, alienam sectam usurpare videtur. sed ego puto simpliciter referri sententias philosophorum: neque enim statim Epicureus debet videri, si libertate poetica ait [562] illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti.*

53. Augustine, *De utilitate credendi* VII.17; see on this passage, Holtz, *Donat*, pp. 20, 219.

54. Justinian, *Institutionum libri quattuor* (J. B. Moyle, ed., Oxford 1912) I.2.2: ius quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur veluti Atheniensium: nam si quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare ius civile Atheniensium, non erraverit. sic enim et ius quo populus Romanus utitur, ius civile Romanorum appellamus: vel ius Quiritium, quo Quirites utuntur: Romani enim a Quirino Quirites appellantur. sed quotiens non addimus, cuius sit civitatis, nostrum ius significamus: sicuti cum poetam dicimus nec addimus nomen, subauditur apud Graecos egregius Homerus, apud nos Vergilius. Of the many fourth century authors to quote Vergil in reverent terms, see Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* XV.9.1: Mantuanus vates excelsus; XIX.9.7, poeta praeclarus; XXXI.4.6, eminentissimus vates. That Ammianus had studied Vergil is clear from XVII.4.5, mentioning the death of Cornelius Gallus and Vergil's affection for him, expressed in *Eclogue* X. Note also Ammianus XXII.8.3 with *Aeneid* III.18 and Servius *ad loc.*: here, Ammianus does not cite Vergil, but he has so deeply absorbed the story of the *Aeneid* that a relatively peripheral episode from this work comes to his mind when his context (here, a description of Thrace) makes it seem relevant.

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trast, were moved not so much by late republican and Augustan history as by characters whom the poet had invented. In particular, the tragic story of Dido, the founder and queen of Carthage, proved to be quite unforgettable.[55] Dido had come to the site of Carthage as an exile, having fled from her native Tyre after her husband had been murdered by her own brother. Putting this catastrophe behind her, Dido had found a home for her people and had begun building their city when Aeneas and his Trojans, after their escape from the smoldering ruins of Troy, were shipwrecked on her shores. She welcomed them kindly, only to fall in love with the hero who was destined to become not her consort but the founder of Rome. Dido's love thus had no future, but nonetheless she clung to Aeneas. When finally he left her, she invoked war and misfortune upon him, vowed her people's everlasting enmity against all his descendants, and threw herself on the sword he had accidentally left behind. As Servius noted in his commentary, the curse that Dido before dying placed on Aeneas foreshadowed both the hardships he was to encounter upon arriving in Italy and the long wars between Rome and Carthage.[56]

In following Vergil's account of the wanderings of Aeneas from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, therefore, the reader gradually comes to understand that the destinies of entire societies, of cities and empires, are in some sense epitomized in individual human destinies. Vergil's story of Dido was thus the story of Carthage as viewed by a Roman. It was also a human story centering on a tragic reversal of fortune. The majestic queen who at the time when she greeted Aeneas had been admired by her people and had been "most lovely to behold"[57]

55. For Dido's story, see *Aeneid* I.338–368. On the quality of Book IV, see Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* IV.1: est enim paene totus in affectione, licet in fine pathos habeat, ubi abscessus Aeneae gignit dolorem. sane totus in consiliis et subtilitatibus est; nam paene comicus stilus est: nec mirum, ubi de amore tractatur. See also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* IV.5.7: saepissime pathos movit cum aut miserabilem aut iracundum vellet inducere. miserabilem sic: qualis populea maerens Philomela sub umbra [*Georgica* IV.511]; qualis commotis excita sacris/Thyas [*Aeneid* IV.301–2] qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem [*Aeneid* XI.68] et aliae plurimae patheticae parabolae in quibus miseratus est. Further examples from *Aeneid* IV invoking pathos are cited in *Saturnalia* IV.6.5, 6, 9–10, 11, 12. On the tragic content of *Aeneid* IV, see the important essay by Antonie Wlosok, "Vergils Didotragödie. Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Tragischen in der Aeneis," in *Studien zum antiken Epos. Festschrift für F. Dirlmeier und V. Pöschl* (Meisenheim 1976), pp. 228–250, now in her *Res humanae—res divinae. Kleine Schriften*; see also the superb introduction by Arthur S. Pease to his edition of Book IV: *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber quartus*, and Ralph Hexter, "Sidonian Dido," in Ralph Hexter and Daniel Selden, eds., *Innovations of Antiquity*, pp. 332–384.

56. Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* IV.615–621 on Aeneas; IV.622–628 on enmity between Carthage and Rome and on Hannibal. Note also *In Verg. Aen.* IV.629, PUGNENT IPSIQUE NEPOTES: potest et ad civile bellum referri.

57. *Aeneid* I.496, forma pulcherrima Dido.

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Figure 2. Queen Dido welcomes Aeneas. According to the text below the picture (*Aeneid* I.586–590), the hero, having been hidden in a cloud by his mother, Venus, now steps forward and addresses the queen. He is shown standing between the Trojans Ilioneus and Segestus. At the picture's right edge, his companion Achates is seen carrying news to the Trojans remaining with the ships, which are visible in the background. The manuscript, known as the Vergilius Vaticanus, was produced around the year 400. Source: Vergilius Vaticanus, fol. 16r.

was transformed into the despairing Dido who was resolved to die when all she had left of her beloved were some objects of attire that had been forgotten in the haste of departure:

> "Keepsakes which I loved while fate and god gave leave,
> receive now my soul and free me from my cares.
> My life is lived, the span that fortune bestowed is accomplished,
> and now my regal shade shall go beneath the earth.

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I built a noble city, beheld the walls I raised,
avenged a husband, and have repaid a brother's enmity.
Blessed, most blessed would I be if only
Trojan ships had never touched our shores."

"dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebant,
accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.
vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,
ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae."[58]

When Vergil wrote, Dido was known to historians as the resourceful and courageous founder and queen of Carthage who had thrown herself on a funerary pyre in order to avoid marriage with an African king. As most of Vergil's readers understood clearly, the variant account, to the effect that Aeneas came to Dido's court and that she killed herself for love of him, was, quite simply, the poet's invention.[59] But this account, although pure fiction, turned out to be extraordinarily persuasive. As Macrobius shrewdly observed, the poet's narrative art endowed the story of Dido and Aeneas with such power that even those who were aware of the true cause of their queen's death went along with the fiction because the sheer intimacy of Vergil's human insight seeped imperceptibly into the reader's heart.[60]

58. *Aeneid* IV.651–658; translation with help from R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber IV*, q.v. on these verses.

59. The ancient sources about Dido were assembled by O. Rossbach, s.v. Dido in *Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. V (Stuttgart 1905), cols. 426–433. For Christian sources, see A. Stuiber, s.v. Dido in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* III (1957), cols. 1014–1016. The earliest extant mention is by Timaios of Tauromenion, frag. 82 in Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil B Nr. 297–607* (Leiden 1993), p. 624; note Jacoby's commentary arguing that Vergil, not some earlier writer such as Naevius, invented the version of the Dido story that is told in *Aeneid* I and IV. Contra, among others, M. von Albrecht, "Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*," in Erich Burck, ed., *Das römische Epos* (Darmstadt 1979), pp. 15–32, at p. 20; see also N. M. Horsfall, "Dido in the Light of History," *Proceedings of the Vergil Society* 13 (1973–74): 1–13 (S. J. Harrison, ed., *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, pp. 127–144). The most fundamental difficulty (which Horsfall seeks to overcome) about Vergil's story of Dido and Aeneas was, as Jacoby pointed out, chronological, because in the *Aeneid*, the foundation of Carthage precedes that of Rome.

60. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* V.17.6: tantum valuit pulchritudo narrandi ut omnes Phoenissae castitatis conscii, nec ignari manum sibi iniecisse reginam, ne pateretur damnum pudoris, coniveant tamen fabulae, et intra conscientiam veri fidem prementes malint pro vero celebrari quod pectoribus humanis dulcedo fingentis infudit. See also, Ovid, *Heroides* VII, letter of Dido to Aeneas, accepting, expanding, and dramatizing Vergil's account. Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria* IX.2.64, takes the story's persuasive power as given; Jean-Michel Poinsotte, "L'image de Didon dans l'antiquité tardive," in *Énée et Didon. Naissance, fonctionnement et survie d'un*

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Figure 3. During a hunting expedition, Dido and Aeneas are overtaken by a rainstorm and find shelter in a cave. Servius hints that the tension between Aeneas' mother, Venus, and his enemy, Juno, represented by the rainstorm, bode ill for the two lovers. Vergil wrote:

> The sky darkened with clouds and rumble of thunder,
> then rain mixed with hailstones poured down.
> Carthaginian nobles and young men from Troy with
> the Dardan descendant of Venus all scattered afar
> in their fright, seeking shelter. Torrents rush down from the mountains.
> Dido and the Trojan commander both found their way
> to the very same cave. First the earth and then Juno as guardian of marriage
> give the sign. Fires flash in the heavens as witness
> to the bridal, and the nymphs give voice from the heights.
>
> (*Aeneid* IV.160–168)

In the miniature, the small figure holding his shield over his head against the rain is perhaps the "Dardan descendant of Venus," that is, Aeneas' son, Ascanius. Source: Vergilius Romanus, fol. 106r.

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Just as Dido represented Carthage, so Aeneas represented Rome. The story of his mistakes, uncertainties, and sorrows offered a glimpse of the history of Rome, which, as Vergil understood well, contained many grim and dark moments. In some sense, these were anticipated during the war Aeneas and his Trojans fought against the inhabitants of Italy before being able to share their land with them.

> The grief of battle was equal on both sides, the deaths
> the same; victors and vanquished yielded equally, and equally
> rushed forward; and neither side gave way in flight.
> The gods in Jupiter's dwelling bemoaned the pointless rage
> of the two sides, that mortal men should suffer so unspeakably.
>
> iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors
> funera; caedebant pariter, pariterque ruebant
> victores victique, neque his fuga nota neque illis.
> di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem
> amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores.[61]

When describing this war's final stage, which culminated in the death of the Italian hero Turnus, whom Aeneas killed in single combat, Vergil asked himself:

> What god can now expound for me such grief, a song
> of manifold slaughter and the death of chieftains whom in turn
> now Turnus and now the hero from Troy pursues across the field
> of battle?
> Did it please you, oh Jupiter, that they should clash so violently,
> these people destined to live as one in everlasting peace ?
>
> quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmine caedes
> diversas obitumque ducum, quos aequore toto
> inque vicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros,
> expediat? tanton placuit concurrere motu,
> Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?[62]

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couple mythique. Actes du colloque international, pp. 43–54. For a late antique rendering of Dido's last thoughts, incorporating the versions of Vergil and Ovid, see Giannina Solimano, *Epistula Didonis ad Aeneam. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento.*

61. *Aeneid* X.755–759. See also *Aeneid* XII.766 ff., where the stump of a sacred olive tree that the Trojans had desecrated holds Aeneas' spear in response to the prayer of the Italian hero Turnus. The episode is all the more significant in terms of pointing to Trojan guilt when one considers Vergil's love of Italy and its vegetation as expressed in the *Georgics;* Richard Thomas, "Tree Violation and Ambivalence in Vergil," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118 (1988): 261–273.

62. *Aeneid* XII.500–504. On the figure of Aeneas, see N. M. Horsfall, "The Aeneas Legend from Homer to Vergil," in J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, eds., *Roman Myth and Mythography*, pp. 12–24. For Vergil's rendering of Aeneas, see, from among a very copious literature, Gary Miles, "Glorious Peace: The Values and Motivation of Virgil's Aeneas," *California*

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Servius glossed the question, "What god can now expound for me such grief?" with the words: "as though he were saying, neither the Muse nor Apollo are equal to the task." Vergil's contemporaries, who had lived through the Roman civil wars, perhaps thought similarly.

Whatever might have been the resonances of the wars described in the second half of the *Aeneid* during Vergil's own lifetime, his perception of war and of Roman politics proved to be an enduring one. Among his numerous imitators was the historian Tacitus, whose descriptions of war often include Vergilian colors.

> Mantua, alas you are too close to hapless Cremona,
>
> Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae,[63]

Vergil had written in an eclogue, and Tacitus turned to the destruction of Troy in the *Aeneid* as a model for that of Cremona by soldiers loyal to Vespasian in the year 69 A.D. Later during the same year, the Roman Capitol was burned during hostilities between the adherents of Vespasian and those of Vitellius, and here also Tacitus' narrative is steeped in Vergilian expressions.[64] Another Vergilian episode occurs in Tacitus' *Annals*. In 14 A.D., Germanicus visited the forest site where the German chieftain Arminius had slaughtered Varus and his legions six year earlier. It was a lugubrious, dark place where the bones of all those Romans were whitening, reminiscent of the fields where lay the Italians who had been killed in war by the invading Trojans and of the subterranean abode of the dead as described by Vergil. Furthermore, the vehemence of Arminius mirrored that of Turnus in the *Aeneid*, and the character and life story of Germanicus reflected, in a much more somber key, the character and life of Vergil's Aeneas.[65]

Studies in Classical Antiquity 9 (1976):133–164, pointing to the "gradual brutalization of the hero" (p. 160) in the second half of the poem; this type of interpretation is criticized and modified in light of Roman (as distinct from Christian and contemporary) views of *pietas* in two essays by Antonie Wlosok: "Der Held als Ärgernis: Vergils Aeneas," in her *Res humanae—res divinae*, pp. 403–418; "Aeneas Vindex: ethischer Aspekt und Zeitbezug," ibid., pp. 419–436; further, David Quint, "Repetition and Ideology in the Aeneid," *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 23 (1989), pp. 9–54; on Rome's wars with her Latin neighbors as reflected in the conflicts described in the second part of the *Aeneid*, see Alexander G. McKay, *Vergil's Italy*, pp. 148 ff.

63. Vergil, *Eclogues* IX.28.

64. Robert T. S. Baxter, "Virgil's Influence on Tacitus in Book 3 of the *Histories*," *Classical Philology* 66 (1971): 93–107.

65. Robert T. S. Baxter, "Vergil's Influence on Tacitus in Books 1 and 2 of the *Annals*," *Classical Philology* 67 (1972): 246–269; see also Elizabeth Henry, "Virgilian Elements in Tacitus' Historical Imagination," *ANRW Teil II: Prinzipat Band 33.4 Sprache und Literatur* (Wolfgang Haase, ed.), pp. 2987–3005.

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Like Tacitus, so his late antique follower and continuator Ammianus Marcellinus worked with Vergilian images and emotions to make events and persons concrete to his readers.[66] Vergil's poetic vocabulary and imagery were thus redeployed in historical writing. But more was at issue, for Vergil had narrated in epic form the mythic story of Roman origins while creating a vision of history in which events are rendered explicable not so much by reference to reason and argument, as by reference to the feelings, the hopes and fears, of individuals.[67] This same method of explanation also pervades the pages of Tacitus. In short, it was not merely Vergil's vocabulary, and his elegance and economy of expression, that became canonical, but also his perception of what was at stake in human life and in the history of Rome.

By the time Ammianus Marcellinus, "a soldier and a Greek," as he described himself, perused the pages of Vergil, Latin speakers comprised a good many Christians, the learned among whom had already embarked on the difficult undertaking of formulating their own attitudes to Vergil. Initially, during the later second and third centuries, Latin apologists had dismissed Vergil as merely another literary figure from the pagan past whose work was irrelevant to their own concerns.[68] In due course,

66. See Guy Sabbah, *La methode d'Ammien Marcellin* (Paris 1978), pp. 544–546, 559, 562–563; also see the Vergilian citations and echoes identified by Jacques Fontaine, in his Ammien Marcellin, *Histoire Livres XXII-XXV. Texte et traduction* (Paris 1977), and in P. de Jonge et al., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus* (Groningen 1972). At the outset of his narrative about Julian as Caesar and later as Augustus, Ammianus, *Res Gestae* XV.9.1, cites Vergil's evocation of the Muse Erato, which leads into the story of the war in Italy, *Aeneid* VII.44. Further, just as Vergil begins with a brief description of affairs in Italy, where the Trojans had just landed, so Ammianus begins with a counterpart about Gaul, where Julian was headed. One could extend the parallelism and juxtapose the episodes that precede the evocation of the Muse in poet and historian. Aeneas visits the underworld, where he sees his destiny (*Aeneid* VI); Julian is inaugurated as Caesar (Ammianus XV.8.1–22) and expresses awareness of his destiny by repeating the Homeric verse (*Iliad* V.83): ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή (cf. John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, p. 87). We thus have here not just a decorative Vergilian quotation, but a deliberate matching of a historical with a poetic narrative where the latter has the purpose of explaining the nature and importance of the former. Cf. above, n. 54.

67. I owe this point to Charles Segal, "Tacitus and Poetic History: The End of *Annals* XIII," *Ramus* 2 (1973): 107–126. For the historical and historiographical dimensions in Vergil's narrative, see Brooks Otis, "Virgil and Clio. A Consideration of Virgil's Relation to History," *Phoenix* 20 (1966): 59–75.

68. Eberhard Heck, "*Vestrum est—poeta noster*. Von der Geringschätzung Vergils zu seiner Aneignung in der frühchristlichen lateinischen Poetik," *Museum Helveticum* 47 (1990): 102–120; Tertullian mentions Dido as a praeconium castitatis et pudicitiae (*Apologeticum* L.5; cf. *De Monogamia* XVII.2; *Ad nationes* I.8.3), which is to say, he follows the historical as distinct from the Vergilian tradition. On the reception of Vergil among Christians, see Pierre Courcelle, "Les pères de l'église devant les enfers Virgiliens," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 30 (1955, actually published Paris 1956), pp. 5–74, and his *Lecteurs*.

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however, Vergil's fourth eclogue attracted attention because it seemed to have some bearing on the Christian religion.

The eclogue celebrates the consulship of Asinius Pollio in 40 B.C. and the birth of a messianic child.[69] The peace of Brundisium between Antony and Octavian, ratified in that year, was giving wings to long suppressed hopes that the Roman civil wars might at last be ending, and so Vergil wrote:

> Muses of Sicily, let us declaim in more exalted tones!
> Not every end is served by shrubs and humble tamarisks,
> and if we sing of forests, let them be worthy of a consul.
> The final epoch of the sibyl's song has come at last,
> A new untarnished order of the ages has been born.
> The Virgin has come back, and Saturn's golden age returns,
> a new begetting now descends from heaven on high.
> O chaste Lucina, favor the child in his birth: through him the iron race
> shall cease, through him a golden lineage shall come forth
> in all the world: your own Apollo rules already.
> And, Pollio, this glory of the age shall enter time with you as consul,
> and the great months begin to take their course.
> You lead, and if some trace remains of our old crimes,
> it shall be rendered void, and free the land from fear for ever.
>
> Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!
> non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
> si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.
> Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
> magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
> iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
> iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
> tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
> desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
> casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo.
> teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule inibit,
> Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses;
> te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
> inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.[70]

Vergil did not name the child whose birth was to transform the world and instead described the new age that was coming into being. Vergil's pastoral

69. On political context and date, see Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, pp. 217–220; see also Fraenkel, *Horace*, pp. 42–55, on Epode XVI and Eclogue IV, settling for the priority of the *Eclogue;* Fraenkel thought Bruno Snell ("Die 16. Epode von Horaz und Vergils 4. Ekloge," *Hermes* 73 [1938]: 237–242) had "proved conclusively" that Eclogue IV was the earlier of the two poems; Syme, p. 218, n.1, thought it merely plausible. See now Clausen, *A Commentary*, pp. 145–150, arguing for the priority of Epode XVI, and pp. 121–122, for the date 40 B.C. for the Eclogue. But Christian Habicht, "Messianic elements in the pre-Christian Greco-Roman World," in Peter Schäfer, ed., *Messianism* (forthcoming), thinks the date is 41 B.C.

70. Vergil, Eclogue IV.1–14; translation with help from Guy Lee and R. D. Williams.

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world, which was so often full of sorrow and labor, was here transformed into the golden age of Saturn, the long lost realm of innocence when the earth had freely yielded its fruits and animals and humans had lived at peace. The new epoch was thus a restoration of an earlier, more perfect cosmic and social order. The child will grow to maturity, and heroes will live once more, another Argo will sail, and "great Achilles will once more be sent to Troy." At the very end, however, dangerous travel and trade on the sea, warfare, and backbreaking work on the land, all characteristic of the present epoch of Saturn's son Jupiter, will cease and, as Vergil's ancient readers understood the poem, human experience will then return to its truly pristine and innocent original state:[71]

> Begin your course of honors, your time will soon have come,
> dear offspring of the gods, exalted child of heaven.
> See how the cosmic mass swerves in its course, behold
> the land, expanses of the sea and the deep sky
> and look how all rejoice to greet the coming age.
>
> adgredere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores,
> cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum!
> aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
> terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,
> aspice, venturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo![72]

Vergil's reticence about the identity of the messianic child spurred the curiosity of his readers and commentators, and several suggestions were made, ranging from Pollio's perhaps hypothetical son Salonius[73] to Augustus himself.[74] The "trace of our old crimes" was understood to refer to the continuing wars that followed the peace of Brundisium, and the final part of the poem could therefore be explained in terms of the much more durable Augustan peace.[75] With this, the transcendent apocalyptic themes of the eclogue, the "great months," the "exalted child of heaven," and the

71. Cf. *Scholia Bernensia ad ecl.* IV, preface: in hac ecloga palingenesiam inducit, idest mundi iterum infantiam.

72. Vergil, Eclogue IV.48–52; for an overview of the eclogue's themes, see Brooks Otis, *Virgil. A Study in Civilized Poetry*, p. 139.

73. See Ronald Syme, "Pollio, Salonius and Salonae," *Classical Quarterly* 31 (1937): 39–48.

74. Servius, *In Verg. Buc.* IV.1,11,13; similarly, Philargyrius, *Expl. in Verg. Buc.* IV.1; the *Scholia Bernensia Ad ecl.* IV,1 adds Octavia's son Marcellus to the list of choices. Clausen, *A Commentary*, pp. 121–122, offers this solution: "To contemporary readers the vexed question 'Who is the boy?' would not have occurred. They knew well enough who was meant: the expected son of Antony and Octavia . . . the son that never was; a daughter was born instead." Habicht (above n. 69) writes: "the boy represents an ideal figure, be it the Golden Age or the Prince of Peace, or whoever." I am inclined to agree.

75. Servius, *In Verg. Buc.* IV.13, 17, 43.

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"cosmic mass" that swerved from its course at the advent of the new age, were left without a context, and the eclogue could accordingly be interpreted as a simple panegyric.[76] All this changed, however, once the poem was examined by Christians. In the early fourth century, the North African rhetor Lactantius[77] read the fourth eclogue[78] as a vision of the kingdom of God to come.[79] He was, however, at pains to point out that Vergil's state-

76. Ibid. 13 sceleris vestigia are the wars of Mutina, Perusia, Sicily, and Actium; 43, even the problematic ram who changes his color is referred to Augustus (cf. Charles Segal, "Pastoral Realism and the Golden Age: Correspondence and Contrast Between Vergil's Third and Fourth Eclogues," in his *Poetry and Myth*, pp. 265–270); 49, IOVIS INCREMENTUM nutrimentum: et est vulgare, quod bucolico congruit carmini; 50 NUTANTEM MUNDUM, nutat praesentibus malis, laetus est bonis futuris, *et bene quasi renascentem describit*. CONVEXO curvo, inclinato. See on these themes, Eduard Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes. Geschichte einer religiösen Idee*. As regards panegyric, see *Vita Donatiana* (ed. L. Brummer), p. 17, and Servius, *In Verg. Buc.* IV.1; the poem is a genethliacum, panegyric for a birthday; for the customary form of such compositions, see Menander, *Peri Epideiktikon* II.8, in D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor. Edited with Translation and Commentary* (Oxford 1981), pp. 158–160. However, the primary *laudes*, as Servius saw matters, were for Augustus; see Servius Auctus on verse 10: *quidam hoc loco 'casta fave Lucina, tuus iam regnat Apollo' Octaviam sororem Augusti significari adfirmant ipsumque Augustum Apollinem.*

77. Regarding the date, Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* V.9.4, refers to the Tetrarchic persecution of Christians: hoc vero inenarrabile est quod fit adversus eos qui malefacere nesciunt, et nulli nocentiores habentur quam qui sunt ex omnibus innocentes. audent igitur homines inprobissimi iustitiae facere mentionem, qui feras inmanitate vincunt, qui placidissimum dei gregem vastant:

> lupi ceu
> raptores atra in nebula, quos inproba ventris
> exegit caecos rabies.

The passage from Vergil (*Aeneid* II.355–357) describes the Greeks devastating Troy.

78. In general terms, Vergil's poetry demonstrated for Lactantius both the existence of a golden age in the past, which he identified with an age of primitive monotheistic religion, and the contrasting evils of his own polytheistic present; see Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* V.6,13: haec est profecto iustitia et hoc aureum saeculum, quod Iove primum regnante corruptum, mox et ipso et omni eius progenie consecrata deorumque multorum suscepto cultu fuerat omne sublatum. The passage contains a barb against the Tetrarchs, who ruled under the especial protection of Jupiter and his son Hercules (for a recent discussion, see, C. E. V. Nixon and Barbara Saylor Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, pp. 44–51). In *Divinae institutiones* V.5, Lactantius cites, *inter alia*, *Georgica* I.126–127 (about absence of property lines in the early days of mankind), *Aeneid* VIII.320 (about Saturn) and 327 (about decline from the Golden Age). Vergil's statements are interpreted as historical; see *Divinae institutiones* V.5.3: quod quidem non pro poetica fictione sed pro verum habendum est; see also Lactantius, *Institutionum epitome* 11–12.

79. *Divinae institutiones* VII.2,1: dispositione summi dei sic ordinatum, ut iniustum hoc saeculum decurso temporum spatio terminum sumat extinctaque protinus omni malitia et piorum animis ad beatam vitam revocatis quietum tranquillum pacificum, aureum denique ut poetae vocant saeculum deo ipso regnante florescat. Perhaps one can juxtapose extinctaque protinus omni malitia with *Eclogue* IV.13: si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri; also, animis . . . revocatis suggests the return of a prior state, as does the eclogue. Lactantius thought that poets had tended to make the mistake of attributing to the past what was only to come in the future; see *Divinae institutiones* VII.24.9: denique tum fient illa quae poetae

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ments could do no more than supplement the prophetic truth of the Bible.[80] Moreover, the fourth eclogue merely reflected what the Sybil of Cumae and the Erythraean Sibyl had said long before Vergil wrote. As the poet himself had declared: "The final epoch of the Sibyl's song has come at last."[81] For Lactantius, therefore, it was the Sybil, not Vergil, who had spoken in the eclogue.[82]

This interpretation was adapted and expanded some years later by the emperor Constantine, but with a crucial difference. Constantine saw in Vergil's messianic child the Christian Savior, and he also greeted Vergil not only in the customary way as the greatest Roman poet, but as the poet who had spoken out of an irresistible inner urge to bear witness to the

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aureis temporibus facta esse iam Saturno regnante dixerunt. quorum error hinc ortus est, quod prophetae futurorum pleraque sic proferunt et enuntiant quasi iam peracta. visiones enim divino spiritu offerebantur oculis eorum et videbant illa in conspectu suo quasi fieri ac terminari. quae vaticinia eorum cum paulatim fama vulgasset, quoniam profani a sacramento ignorabant quatenus dicerentur, conpleta esse iam veteribus saeculis illa omnia putaverunt, quae utique fieri conplerique non poterant homine regnante. Cum vero deletis religionibus impiis et scelere compresso subiecta erit deo terra

> cedet et ipse mari vector nec nautica pinus
> mutabit merces . . .

Lactantius then goes on to quote a centolike compilation of verses from the fourth eclogue, as follows: verses 38–41, 28–30, 42–45, 21–22. The idea that the fourth eclogue treats the past is at least partially paralleled in Servius, *In Verg. Buc.* IV.32, a sequentis ostendit praecedentia, quae vitavit quasi laudi incongrua: nam per navigationem ostendit fore avaritiam, quae homines navigare compellit; per muros bella significat; per agriculturam famis ostendit timorem.

80. Vinzenz Buchheit, "Cicero inspiratus—Vergilius propheta? Zur Wertung paganer Autoren bei Laktanz," *Hermes* 118 (1990): 357–372; see also Antonie Wlosok, "Zwei Beispiele frühchristlicher Vergilrezeption: Polemik (Lact., div. inst. 5,10) und Usurpation (Or. Const. 19–31)," in V. Pöschl, ed., *2000 Jahre Vergil. Ein Symposium. Wolfenbüttler Forschungen* 24 (Wiesbaden 1983), pp. 63–86, now in her *Res humanae—res divinae*, pp. 437–459.

81. Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* VII.24.12; on the Sibyls, David Potter, *Prophets and Emperors. Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius*, pp. 71–93.

82. For Lactantius, Vergil, despite his faults, is nostrorum primus Maro, *Divinae institutiones* I.5.11: the "nostrorum," however, does not make Vergil a poet for Christians, but distinguishes him from Greek poets, specifically Hesiod, whom Lactantius discussed in the preceding lines; see also *Divinae institutiones* I.,5,19, poeta noster. Lactantius' perception that the Sibyl spoke in the eclogue was not without objective merit; see R. G. M. Nisbet, "Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*: Easterners and Westerners," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25 (1978): 59–78, now in his *Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, S. J. Harrison, ed. (Oxford 1995), pp. 47–75 On a related issue, see Alain Goulon, "Les citations des poètes latins dans l'oeuvre de Lactance," in J. Fontaine and M. Perrin, eds., *Lactance et son temps. Récherches actuelles. Actes du IVe Colloque d'Études Historiques et Patristiques. Chantilly 21–23 septembre 1976*, pp. 107–156, with useful remarks on early Latin apologists, but only a little progress beyond Samuel Brandt's excellent edition of Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones;* further, Marie-Louise Guillaumin, "L'exploitation des 'Oracles sibyllins' par Lactance et par le 'Discours à l'assemblée des saints,'" *Lactance et son temps*, pp. 185–201.

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truth.[83] Vergil had thus been inspired in his own right, and he had expressed his message not only as befitted poets, but also as befitted the period and circumstances in which he lived, for in the eclogue, explicit expression went hand in hand with veiled statements that were phrased "as allegory"[84] because, so Constantine thought, "a certain danger hung over those who questioned the customs of the ancestors. Therefore Vergil presented the truth to those able to understand it in a guarded and cautious manner. He condemned armies and warfare, which in truth are still present in human life, and thus, he represents the Savior as Achilles setting out for the Trojan War, and the entire universe as Troy."[85] If Achilles was Christ and Troy was the universe that Christ had conquered, then here was Vergil, the "wisest of poets"[86] and a Christian before his time, proclaiming the Savior despite the danger it entailed, much as many ordinary Christians had done before the edict of toleration. In the truest sense of the term, Vergil was a "witness."[87]

Lactantius, who saw in Vergil's poetry an important but limited truth, and Constantine, for whom Vergil had given voice to the truth itself, epitomize two distinct methods of Vergilian interpretation. On the one hand, Vergil could be read as an author from the Roman past who had written in and about that past, and on the other, he could be read as a poet who was in some sense endowed with a special authority or inspiration. For Christians, this issue was complicated by the larger question as to what kind of continuity could be envisioned between Christianity and classical culture,

83. Constantine, *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum* (in Eusebius, *Werke* I, *Über das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin*, I. Heikel, ed., *Griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig 1902), chapter XIX.5 τῆς χρείας τὴν αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίαν ἐπιποθούσης. For τὸν εξοχώτατον τῶν κατὰ 'Ιταλίαν ποιητῶν, see ibid. XIX.4.

84. Ibid. XIX.8: φανερῶς τε ἅμα καὶ ἀποκρύφως δι' ἀλληγοριῶν. In *Oratio*, chapter XVIII.2, Constantine states that the Erythraean Sibyl, who had been inspired with the truth and foresaw Christ (see *Oratio*, chapter XXI.2), lived six generations after the Flood. This would seem to be a further indication that Eusebius had nothing to do with the composition of the *Oratio* because in his *Chronicle* the Erythraean Sibyl is mentioned during the ninth Olympiad (744 B.C.); see Rudolf Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (Berlin 1956), p. 86.6 (also, under the name Herofila, pp. 91.13; 94.12).

85. Constantine, *Oratio* XX.8–9; the original version of the *Oration* was in Latin; see Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* IV.32 (see also *Life* IV.29; IV.55 for Constantine's further discourses on holy topics); the Greek translation of the *Oratio* is bumpy: one can see the sense in spite of the awkward phrasing and non sequiturs, such as here, the transition from war as a perennial human reality to Achilles and Christ. On the study of Vergil in the Greek-speaking Eastern Roman empire, see Johannes Kramer, "Der Lateinisch-Griechische Vergilpalimpsest aus Mailand," Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik CXI (1996): 1–20.

86. Constantine, *Oratio* XX.8: σοφώτατε ποιητά.

87. See *ibid.* XIX.5, with G. W. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 5 ff.

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which in turn would define the authority that could be attributed to Vergil's text.[88]

During the fourth and fifth centuries, Christian interpretations of Vergil's poetry multiplied. Adopting a formulation from the fourth eclogue, Hilary of Poitiers described Christ's incarnation as a "new begetting," and the Spanish poet Prudentius adorned Christ's nativity with the same humble tamarisks, and the perfume and flowing honey that had graced the advent of the messianic child.[89] A little later the grammarian Iunius Filargirius,[90] commenting on the *Eclogues*, added Christ to the traditional list of possible candidates for the messianic child and also suggested that the words "the Virgin has come back" referred to Mary.[91] Going far beyond such adaptations, the Roman noble lady Proba, a contemporary of the learned Jerome, thought that the entire fabric of Vergil's writings could

88. Fulgentius, *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae*, allegorizes Vergil thoughout, thereby endowing the *Aeneid* with a heightened authority; see the introduction by Tullio Agozzino and Ferruccio Zanlucchi to their edition, translation and commentary: *Fabio Planciade Fulgenzio. Expositio Virgilianae continentiae* (Padua 1972). Fulgentius, writing at the very end of the fifth century, along with later authors, no longer perceived the distinction between Vergil and Christian sacred texts that seemed important in late antiquity and that was fundamental to the mature Augustine. On allegorizations of Vergil by Fulgentius and later authors, see further Henri de Lubac, "Virgile philosophe et prophète," in his *Exégèse mediévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, pp. 233–262.

89. An example of borrowing from Vergil that may have remained unobserved: Hilary of Poitiers, *Hymni* (ed. Alfred Feder, in CSEL 65, Vienna 1916), 1,21–22, Felix qui potuit fide res tantas penitus credulus assequi, modeled on Vergil's *Georgica* II,40, felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas; see also Hilary, ibid., 37, Kara progenies dei, referring to Christ, a conflation of *Eclogue* IV.49 cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum, with *Eclogue* IV.7, iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto. See also Jean Doignon, "'Ipsius enim genus sumus' (Actes 17.28b) chez Hilaire de Poitiers. De saint Paul à Virgile," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 23 (1980): 58–64. For a listing of Christian readings of the fourth eclogue, see Stephen Benko, "Virgil's Fourth Eclogue in Christian Interpretation," in *ANRW*, vol. 31.1 (Berlin 1980), pp. 646–705; see also Courcelle, "Les exégèses chrétiennes," which includes an important discussion of the interpretations of the fourth eclogue by Lactantius and Constantine; further, Courcelle, *Lecteurs*.For the tamarisk, etc., Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* XI.71–76, with *Eclogue* IV.30, 25, 2, respectively. Further, on Prudentius' use of Vergil, see Anne-Marie Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs*, pp. 123–141; Michael Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of Martyrs. The Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius*, pp. 92–97, 165–166; Michael Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, mentions numerous Vergilian echoes in the biblical epics; Jacques Fontaine, "Images virgiliennes de l'ascension céleste dans la poésie latine chrétienne," in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum. Gedenkschrift für Alfred Stuiber. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband* 9 (1982), 54–67; Wolfgang Schmid, "Tiyrus Christianus. Probleme religiöser Hirtendichtung an der Wende vom vierten zum fünften Jahrhundert," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 96 (1953): 101–165, is excellent.

90. Kaster, *Guardians of Language*, pp. 284–285.

91. Iunius Filargirius, *Expl. in Verg. Buc.* IV.7 (this commentary is printed in *Appendix Serviana* where the author's name is spelt Iunius Philargyrius); for Vergil's "redit et Virgo" as Mary, see line 6.

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be reconfigured into the story of salvation. She thus stitched together a cento recounting biblical events from the creation to Christ's ascension, using, for the most part, Vergilian lines or fragments of them. "Be present, God, raise up my mind," she thus wrote, "and let me tell that Vergil proclaimed the holy gifts of Christ."[92]

Jerome, as might be expected from a student of the grammarian Donatus, disapproved of such efforts. The fact that before the advent of Christ Vergil had written that

> the Virgin has come back, and Saturn's golden age returns,
> a new begetting now descends from heaven on high[93]

did not make a Christian of him. Moreover, in Jerome's eyes, to paraphrase the Bible in Vergilian verses amounted to discounting the true content of sacred scripture[94] because such paraphrase inevitably eliminated the resonances, quotations, allusions, and typological parallels between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament and therefore made a mockery of Christian erudition and thus of Christian understanding.[95] For Jerome, the question was not whether secular learning could have a place in Christian scholarship, but rather how that place should be defined. Here, Jerome applied the teaching of Donatus and of other grammarians regarding the integrity of texts. As a grammarian might have expressed it, a Vergilian paraphrase of the story of the Bible was not compatible with the nature of the work, the intention of its authors, or useful biblical exegesis.[96]

92. *Probae cento* 22–23; see Elizabeth A. Clark and Diane F. Hatch, *The Golden Bough, the Oaken Cross. The Virgilian Cento of Faltonia Betitia Proba;* further, on Proba's aspirations, Jeffrey T. Schnapp, "Reading Lessons: Augustine, Proba and the Christian *Detournement* of Antiquity," *Stanford Literature Review* 9,2 (1992): 99–123; note also Danuta Shanzer, "The Date and Identity of the Centonist Proba," *Récherches Augustiniennes* 27 (1994): 75–96. For the nuptial cento by Proba's contemporary, Ausonius, also based on Vergil, see the commentary by R. P. H. Green in his *The Works of Ausonius, Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford 1991), pp. 518–526.

93. *Eclogue* IV.6–7, quoted by Jerome, *Epistula* LIII.7 (Isidorus Hilberg, ed., *CSEL* LIV, Vienna 1996), to Paulinus of Nola.

94. Jerome, *Epistula* LIII.7. On the date, see Courcelle, "Les exégèses chrétiennes," p. 310, with discussion of Jerome's quotations from Proba's *Cento*, lines 403 and 624; also Harald Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics. A Study on the Apologists, Jerome, and Other Christian Writers*, pp. 185–190.

95. See Jerome, *Epistula* LIII.3–7 on biblical erudition; survey of the Hebrew Bible and its fulfilment in the New Testament 8; ibid. 7: having listed various kinds of experts, ranging from grammarians to textile workers and dyers, all of whom are respected for their skills, Jerome angrily exclaims: Sola Scripturarum ars est quam sibi omnes passim vindicant.

96. Cf. Servius' introduction to his commentary of the *Aeneid*, cited above at n. 8. On Jerome's own practice as a scholar and translator, see Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship and the Hebrew Bible. A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* (Oxford 1993); Matthew Aaron Kraus, "Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus Iuxta Hebraeos in Rela-

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Jerome devoted considerable scholarly attention and philological acumen to defining the role of secular learning in Christian thought.[97] But, in effect, Vergil occupied only a lesser proportion of this attention. For Jerome's younger contemporary Augustine, however, Vergil was a lifelong interest, a focal point of profound emotive and intellectual engagement that encompassed a large part of the poet's work, including the fourth eclogue.[98] Like Lactantius, whom he had read,[99] Augustine believed that the prophetic content of the eclogue came not from Vergil, but from the Sibyl of Cumae[100] and that the poem said nothing that Christians could not more satisfactorily discover in Scripture. Also, like Lactantius,[101] Augustine quoted the eclogue when addressing pagans in the hope that it might help to convince them that the Christian religion was true. In 411 A.D., for example, the distinguished Roman senator Volusianus wrote to Augustine from Carthage asking whether it could really be the case that Mary had been pregnant with Christ, as Vergil had said of the mother of his messianic child, "for ten long and weary months."[102] How could Mary still be a

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tion to Classical, Christian, and Jewish Traditions of Interpretation," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Department of Classical Studies, 1996).

97. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, Part II.

98. Augustine arrived at his ideas about the fourth eclogue independently of Jerome; on the date (394/5 A.D.) of the *Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio*, containing Augustine's earliest reference to this poem, see Seraphinus M. Zarb, "Chronologia operum Sancti Augustini," *Angelicum* 10.3 (1933): 359–396, at pp. 394 f.; Augustine's correspondence with Jerome, which did not, however, deal with the exegesis of pagan authors, began in 395; see Ralph Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal. 2,11–14*. For Augustine's references to the eclogue, see his *Epistulae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio* (ed. and tr. Paula Fredriksen Landes), *Augustine on Romans*, p. 3; Augustine, *Epistulae* CCLVIII.5, to Marcianus; CIV.3,11, to Nazarius; CXXXXXV.2, Volusianus to Augustine; CXXXVII.1.2; 3.12 (ed. Goldbacher, p. 114), Augustine to Volusianus; *De civitate dei* X.27.

99. Augustine, *De civitate dei* XVIII.23.

100. *Ep. ad Rom. inch. expos.* 3; *Epistula* CCLVIII.5; cf. *Epistula* CXXXVII.3,12 (ed. Goldbacher, p. 112): ea quae hic ante dicta sunt utiliter vera non solum a prophetis sanctis, qui omnia vera dixerunt, verum etiam a philosophis atque ipsis poetis et cuiusce modi auctoribus litterarum, quos multa vera falsis miscuisse quis ambigat . . .

101. Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* I.5.1: sed omittamus sane testimonia prophetarum, ne minus probatio videatur esse de his quibus omnino non creditur. veniamus ad auctores et eos ipsos ad veri probationem testes citemus, quibus contra nos uti solent, poetas dico et philosophos.

102. Eclogue IV.61; Augustine, *Epistulae* CXXXV.2: . . . pertulerit decem mensium longa illa fastidia mater et tamen virgo enixa sit sollemnitate pariendi et post haec virginitas putatur intacta . . . tam diu a sedibus suis abest ille regnator atque ad unum corpusculum totius mundi cura transfertur . . . ; see on the correspondence, Madeleine Moreau, *Le dossier Marcellinus dans la Correspondance de Saint Augustin*, pp. 49–77, and on Volusianus, A. Chastagnol, "Le sénateur Volusien et la conversion d'une famille de l'aristocratie romaine au bas-empire," *Révue des Études Anciennes* 58 (1956): 241–253.

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virgin after giving birth, and how was it possible for the ruler of the world to be absent from his cosmic preeminence during those long months in the womb and the years of babyhood and infancy? Cultivated men in Carthage were debating these questions fervently, and Augustine responded with great circumspection that one should not think of even the incarnate Christ merely in terms of "space and place" in a material and human sense.[103] Passing on to Christ's teaching, he observed that belief in the true doctrine of the immortality of the soul had of late become universal whereas formerly it had been understood only by the select few. Speaking allegorically, therefore, one of the miraculous effects of the birth of Vergil's messinic child, which had been that the rarest of plants, "Assyrian spikenard would grow everywhere," had become a present reality, and moreover Christ, as the poet had written,

> leads, and if some trace remains of our old crimes,
> it shall be rendered void, and free the land from fear for ever.
>
> quo duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
> inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.[104]

Such interpretations made of the poet of the fourth eclogue a theologian to whom Christians could appeal so as to instruct pagans. Even though Vergil's "true things" had been "mingled with the false," he could help to forge a bridgehead into the land of Christian revelation. However, the realm occupied by Vergil was one of profound ambivalence. Although he had spoken of Christ, the message had been culled from the Cumaean Sibyl. Even when he was thought to have spoken in his own right, he had spoken in his capacity of poet, and not in the more exalted one of prophet,

103. Augustine, *Epistula* CXXXVII.2,4; for loci . . . spatium, see also *Epistula* CXLVII, de videndo deo.

104. Augustine, *Epistula* CXXXVII.3.12 (p. 114), citing Eclogue IV.25 and 13–14, respectively. In line 13, Augustine replaces Vergil's te duce with quo duce; Courcelle, "Les exégèses chrétiennes," pp. 312–313, takes this, and the mention of the Assyrian spikenard, as an indication that Augustine followed the *Oratio* of Constantine, which (chapter XX.2) does the same. But Augustine cited Eclogue IV.13–14 correctly in *De civitate dei* X.27 and *Epistulae* CCLVIII.2, which makes the parallelism of Constantine and Augustine less compelling, seeing that by this time, the possible identification of the messianic child with Christ had occurred to others, cf. above, n. 89. Theologically, moreover, as I have argued here, Augustine's interpretation of the fourth eclogue is much closer to that of Lactantius, whom, as he himself states, he had read, than it is to the view taken by Constantine in his *Oratio*, which Augustine never mentioned (cf. Guillaumin, above n. 82). Lactantius' millenarianism, with which Augustine disagreed, is, of course, another matter; see Paula Fredriksen, "Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity. From John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo," *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991): 151–183.

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which belonged exclusively to the prophets of the Bible.[105] Insofar as what he said was true, it was true only because it could be shown not to be the whole truth. Just as the fourth eclogue was a partial statement of Christ's coming, so elsewhere Vergil had made partial statements, valuable in one sense and misleading in another, about the existence of one God.

III

Among Latin apologists, Lactantius was one of the first to explore how Vergil had glimpsed the truth while yet missing much of its substance. He cited two passages from the *Georgics* and one from the *Aeneid* as relevant to the issue. In the *Georgics*, Vergil had expounded the divine ordering of the universe by showing how this ordering was manifest in the life and the political hierarchy of bees. As Servius observed, it was a way of saying great things by way of writing about something small, the point being that bees had long been admired for being endowed with a sense of beauty, of order, and of social responsibility. In short, they possessed "kings, palaces, cities, and nations" and therefore represented the larger realities of human life.[106] Drawing on this ancient tradition of research and speculation, Vergil accordingly wrote:

> Some have affirmed that bees possess a share
> of the divine mind and drink ethereal draughts;
> for God, they say, pervades the whole creation,
> lands and the sea's expanse and the deep sky.
> Thence flocks and herds and men and all the beasts
> of the wild derive, each in his hour of birth,
> the subtle breath of life; and surely thither
> all things at last return, dissolved, restored.
> There is not room for death: alive they fly
> To join the stars and mount aloft to heaven.
>
> his quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti
> esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus
> aetherios dixere; deum namque ire per omnia,

105. Constantine, *Oratio* XX.8.

106. Servius, *In Verg. Georg.* IV.1: PROTINUS AERII MELLIS CAELESTIA DONA EXEQUAR rhetorice dicturus de minoribus rebus magna promittit, ut et levem materiam sublevet et attentum faciat auditorem. sane perite, quoniam scit breve esse opus hoc de apibus et intra paucos versus posse consumi, usus est translationibus ad dilatandam materiam, dicens apes habere reges, praetoria, urbes et populos. Hellfried Dahlmann, "Der Bienenstaat in Vergils Georgica," *Abhandlungen der Akademie Mainz* (1954, no. 10): 545–562, also in his *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 181–196.

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terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
hinc pecudes armenta viros, genus omne ferarum,
quemque sibi tenuis nascentem arcessere vitas;
scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri
omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.[107]

In the *Aeneid*, as Servius pointed out,[108] Vergil returned to his earlier theme of the divine indwelling in the cosmos, but now it was not in an apiarian image, but explicitly and in the grand manner. Here Aeneas, having sought out his deceased father Anchises in the Elysian fields, was instructed by him about the future of Rome and about the nature of the divine, of man and the universe. This was also the passage that Lactantius quoted alongside Vergil's discussion of cosmic order as manifest in the republic of the bees, which would seem to indicate that Lactantius was drawing on an existing exegetical tradition. In the *Aeneid*, then, Anchises said to Aeneas:

"From their first origin, an inner life sustains the sky and earth,
the watery sea, the shining body of the moon,
the godlike stars; and running through its limbs
a mind governs this mass, and mingles with its majestic body.
Hence has come forth the race of men and animals, of flying birds
and of the giant creatures swimming beneath the marble surface of
the sea."

"principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentis
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra
spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus."[109]

107. Vergil, *Georgicon* IV.219–227; translation by L. P. Wilkinson. See, on the passage, the commentary by R. A. B. Mynors, *Virgil's Georgics. Edited with a Commentary, with a Preface by R. G. M. Nisbet*.

108. Servius, *In Verg. Georg.* IV.219, locum hunc plenius executus est in sexto [724]; *In Verg. Georg.* IV.221, DEUM NAMQUE IRE PER OMNES T.T.M.ipse in sexto [724] caelum ac terras cetera spiritus intus alit. Similarly *Scholia Bernensia* on *Georgica* IV.222.

109. Vergil, *Aeneid* VI.724–729. Both these passages were adduced by Minucius Felix, *Octavius* XIX.1–3, whose text Lactantius adapted and expanded. See also Courcelle, *Lecteurs*, pp. 472–479, on these and further citations of *Aeneid* VI.724 ff.; Jean Doignon, "'Ipsius enim genus sumus' (Actes 17.28b) chez Hilaire de Poitiers. De Saint Paul à Virgile," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 23 (1980): 58–64. Ambrose also alluded to the words "spiritus intus alit" when describing the fruitful earth at the beginning of the fifth day of creation; see Ambrose, *Exameron* V.1,1: aetherio enim *spiritu* omnes terrarum fetus *aluntur*, terra quoque semina resolvens universa vivificat et maxime tunc primum verbo dei iussa viridescere vivificationis suae munere pullulat. The *Exameron* contains very frequent Vergilian citations and allusions by way of appropriating, rather than contradicting or modifying, Vergil's statements.

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Finally, in a passage from the *Georgics* that Lactantius likewise went on to quote, Vergil described the divine powers manifest in nature during the coming of spring.

> Spring brings the growth of trees and of the forests,
> in spring the country swells and clamors for the fruitful seeds.
> Then the almighty father Heaven descends with fecund showers
> into the lap of his rejoicing bride and with her mighty body
> mingling in might begets all manner of fruits.
>
> ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile silvis,
> vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.
> tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
> coniugis in gremium laetae descendit, et omnis
> magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus.[110]

Lactantius attached these verses to the preceding extracts about cosmic order because he understood them to describe the indwelling of the divine in the elements, especially in the Aether or Heaven, that had interested the pre-Socratic philosophers and the Stoics.[111]

To the extent that these teachings harmonized with Christian monotheism,[112] Lactantius thought, they possessed a useful apologetic purpose because people who did not want to believe the Hebrew prophets could nonetheless consult their own literature and see that "the force of truth itself is such that no one can be so blind as to fail to perceive the divine radiance bursting in upon his eyes."[113] In this sense, Vergil was "not far from the truth" when he described the supreme god as "Heaven" and as "mind and inner life."[114] However, Lactantius also pointed to the errors and contradictions in Vergil's theology, as when the poet had referred to Juno as Jupiter's "sister and consort," even though everyone knew that

110. Vergil, *Georgica* II.323–327, translation by L. P. Wilkinson, modified. Cf. below, Chapter IV, n. 53, for Servius' view of this passage.

111. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* XIX.1–3, formulates a very similar argument, which Lactantius appears to have known.

112. See also Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* I.3.19, about "the empire of nature": quodsi in uno exercitu tot fuerint imperatores quot legiones, quot cohortes, quot cunei, quot alae, primum nec instrui poterit acies uno quoque periculum recusante nec regi facile aut temperari, quod suis propriis consiliis utantur omnes, quorum diversitate plus noceant quam prosint: sic in hoc rerum naturae imperio nisi unus fuerit ad quem totius summae cura referatur, universa solventur et conruent.

113. Ibid. I.5.2: quod veritatis ipsius tanta vis est, ut nemo possit esse tam caecus, quin videat ingerentem se oculis divinam claritatem.

114. Ibid. I.5,11: nostrorum primus Maro non longe afuit a veritate, cuius de summo deo, quem mentem ac spiritum nominavit, haec verba sunt . . . (there follow the Vergilian passages cited above). It may appear arbitrary to translate Vergil's "spiritus intus alit" as "inner life." The difficulty is that the English "spirit" and cognates do not capture Vergil's meaning.

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incest was a sin,[115] or when Jupiter was described as "author of mankind and the universe." Jupiter was Saturn's son, and "countless thousands of human beings have lived before he came into existence."[116] The internal contradictions evident in Vergil's theology as read by Christians moved to the forefront of debate when, a century later, Augustine wrote his *City of God*. Augustine cited the same passages about the order of the cosmos that had interested Lactantius,[117] but he evaluated them as evidence not for pagan monotheism, but for the interminable fragmentation of Roman concepts of deity.[118] "All things are full of Jupiter," Vergil had said,[119] but in effect, this was not the case because different elements and parts of the cosmos were represented by different deities, not to mention the countless lesser deities who protected the forests, the vines, and the crops of the fields and the further deities who represented human activities, hopes, and fears.[120]

Vergil had loved the Italian countryside, its plants, crops, and animals, and he liked to invoke the cosmic and rustic gods and goddesses whom Augustine scorned but who were remembered and indeed cherished by Servius and Macrobius. At the end of winter, "when clear spring time is already coming," Ceres, who had invented the plough, thereby saving human beings from starvation, was to receive her offerings:

> In spring the lambs are fat and the wine well mellowed,
> sleeping is sweet, and the shadows lie deep on the hills.
> Make sure that all the rustic youth will worship Ceres,
> and meanwhile mingle milk and honey for her with sweet flowing wine.

115. Ibid. I.10.19, citing *Aeneid* I .47.

116. Ibid. I.11.6, citing *Aeneid* XII.829: quomodo potest deus videri aut, ut ait poeta, hominum rerumque repertor, ante cuius ortum infinita hominum milia fuerunt? See also the further development of this argument, *Divinae institutiones* I.11–15, throughout articulated by reference to Vergil, among others. Buchheit, "Cicero inspiratus"; Claude Rambaux, "Christianisme et paganisme dans le livre I des *Institutions divines* de Lactance," *Revue des Études Latines* 72 (1994): 159–176.

117. Augustine, *De civitate dei* IV.10–11; the appearance in these chapters of the same cluster of Vergilian citations as are also deployed by Lactantius would suggest that Augustine had thought about the *Divinae institutiones* in more detail than meets the eye or else that he had internalized Vergilian learned traditions to a considerable degree; cf. below, Chapter V, n. 158.

118. Augustine did not invent such arguments, which also appear, for example, in Minucius Felix, *Octavius* XX.1–22.7; Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* I.14–15; II.6–8. Augustine did, however, formulate these arguments with much greater insistence and logical cogency. See further below, Chapter IV. I use the terms "pagan" and "pagans" in this book because there appear to be no satisfactory alternatives; see Clifford Ando, "Pagan Apologetics and Christian Intolerance in the Ages of Themistius and Augustine," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996): 171–207, especially pp. 175, 187 ff., 199.

119. Eclogue III.60, Iovis omnia plena, cited in *De civitate dei* IV.9.

120. *De civitate dei* IV.11; the topic is resumed in *De civitate dei* VI.7.9.

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Then make an unblemished victim circle three times round the
young crops,
while the chorus of all your companions follows after rejoicing,
calling on Ceres to visit their home. And see that no one
sets his sickle to the ripening harvest without first
encircling his brow with an oak wreath for Ceres
and dancing a rustic dance while chanting her hymns.

tum pingues agni et tum molissima vina,
tum somni dulces densaeque in montibus umbrae.
cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret:
cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho,
terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges,
omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,
et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta; neque ante
falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis,
quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu
det motus incompositos et carmina dicat.[121]

Later in the year, when the country festival of the Compitalia was celebrated, small effigies were to be hung in trees to honor Bacchus, who had invented viticulture, this being a custom that Macrobius believed had been initiated by the first consul, Iunius Brutus.[122] An ample grape harvest, Vergil wrote, would follow:

Then the entire vineyard thrives with swelling grapes
and valleys and woodlands are filled with abundance
in whatever direction the god has turned his comely face.

hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu,
complentur vallesque cavae saltusque profundi
et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum.[123]

In this way, the entire round of the year was ordered by alternating labor in the fields, producing and repairing implements, and performing the rituals that were owed to the deities of the land, to Liber and Ceres, the Fauns and Dryads, Neptune and Pan, Minerva and Silvanus, and all the other gods and goddesses who protected the fields.[124] Such concerns,

121. Vergil, *Georgica* I.341–350; see also, on *Georgica* I.5 ff., below, Chapter II, n. 163. On Ceres inventing the plough, Vergil, *Georgica* I.147–148, prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram instituit; cf. Servius *ad loc.*

122. Vergil, *Georgica* II.389, with Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.7.35, and the commentary on Vergil by Will Richter, *Vergil, Georgica*, pp. 239–241.

123. Vergil, *Georgica* II.390–392.

124. On these deities of Vergil's invocation at the beginning of the *Georgics*, see Richter, *Vergil, Georgica*, pp. 115–121; Pierre Boyancé, "La religion des 'Géorgiques' à la lumière des travaux récents," in Wolfgang Haase, ed., *ANRW Teil II: Prinzipat Band 33.4 Sprache und Literatur* vol. 31.1, pp. 549–573.

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however, rooted as they were in the land and the agricultural practice of Italy, remained both alien and irrelevant to Christians whose home was elsewhere and whose interests were urban.[125]

On the one hand, Christians used their classical reading and their reading of Vergilian commentaries to interpret the poet for their own purposes. Commentators had identified the heaven whence rain descends in springtime as Jupiter and the earth as Juno,[126] so that Lactantius and Augustine were not alone in perceiving such dimensions in Vergil's poetry.[127] On the other hand, the meaning of Vergil's verses shifted when interpreted by Christians because they were placed into entirely new contexts. Servius interpreted Vergil by adducing material from elsewhere in the poet's writings. For example, when discussing the annual springtime celebration for Ceres, he mentioned by way of comparison the annual festival in which the Romans had honored Hercules for liberating them from the primordial monster Cacus. Regarding the effigies that were hung in trees for Bacchus, Servius thought they had a purificatory significance and thus quoted Vergil's verses about the purification of souls in the life after death.[128] Similarly, he explained the words in the fourth eclogue, "if some trace remains of our old crimes," by drawing attention to the description of war and civil war that concludes the first book of the *Georgics*. As for the simple gift of ivy and cyclamen that the earth offered to the messianic child, it brought to Servius' mind the ivy and cyclamen that were to adorn the poet's brow in the seventh eclogue.[129] Elsewhere Servius drew on the corpus of Latin

125. The exception was Ambrose, an Italian, who quoted Vergil's *Georgics* extensively in his *Exameron*, even though, of course, he did not share Vergil's historical and religious vision of the countryside, for which see McKay, *Vergil's Italy*.

126. Servius, *In Verg. Georg.* III.325; Augustine, *De civitate dei* IV.10.1 ff., 36 ff.; beyond this, Vergil and Augustine had both studied Varro, who described sky and earth as Jupiter and Juno, respectively; see Marcus Terentius Varro, *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* (ed. Burkhart Cardauns), frag. 28, in *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz. Abhandlungen, geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse. Einzelveröffentlichung*.

127. On the Platonizing Vergil commentary that Augustine appears to have read, see Karl Hermann Schelkle, *Virgil in der Deutung Augustins*, pp. 185–186, with Pierre Hadot, *Marius Victorinus. Récherches sur sa vie et ses oeuvres*, pp. 215–231.

128. Servius, *In Verg. Georg.* I.339: ANNUA anniversaria, magna: sic in Aeneide [VIII.173], annua quae differre nefas; also ibid. II.389: prudentioribus tamen aliud placet, qui dicunt sacra Liberi patris ad purgationem animae pertinere. omnis autem purgatio aut per aquam fit aut per ignem aut per aerem, sicut et in sexto ait [740–742] aliae panduntur inanes suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni: ut nunc per oscilla genus purgationis, quod est maximum, intellegamus. nam primum est aquae, secundum ignis, tertium aeris.

129. Servius, *In Verg. Buc.* 4.13, citing *Georgica* I.510, and ibid.IV.19, citing EclogueVII.25, 27. The translation of baccar as cyclamen is tentative; see P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1982), s.v. baccar.

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authors taught in schools to elucidate Vergil,[130] and he also adduced general knowledge. For example, he often recounted the plots of myths that Vergil referred to[131] and expounded philosophical doctrines and speculations such as might shed light on Vergil's meaning.[132] The process of commenting was thus a process of addition, modification, and comparison, interspersed at times with criticism and correction.[133]

The exploration of Vergil's meaning by Lactantius and Augustine was a very different matter.[134] In one sense, the difference was merely one of genre, for where Servius and the Christian Filargirius wrote commentaries, Lactantius, Constantine, Augustine, and some of the other Christians who quoted "our poet"[135] did so in order to pursue their own autonomous argument. And thus this simple difference of genre amounted to a great gulf, for passages quoted from Vergil now became building blocks for new structures, just as the columns and capitals of earlier temples and public edifices were, at Augustine's time of writing, being reused in the construction of Christian churches. More apt, perhaps, is the analogy of the arch of Constantine in Rome, dedicated in 314 A.D., which is adorned by spoils from earlier monuments dedicated to the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Diocletian. The reliefs from these earlier imperial structures do, in effect, continue to speak in their own idiom if one examines them in isolation,[136] and similarly, it is possible to take Vergil's verses out of the Christian contexts in which they were being quoted in order to understand something of their original meaning. But that is not what the contemporaries who read Augustine's writings are particularly likely to have done, or, at any rate, it is not what Augustine wanted them to do. Rather, part of Augustine's

130. Robert A. Kaster, "Servius and *idonei auctores*," *American Journal of Philology* 99 (1978): 181–209.

131. Servius, (for example) *In Verg. Aen.* I.242 (Antenor), 273 (Romulus and Remus), 317 (Camilla), 550 (Laomedon); II.601 (Helen and the Dioscuri); III.402 (Philoctetes); V.72 (Myrrha, daughter of Cinyras); VIII.294 (Hercules).

132. Edith Owen Wallace, "The Notes on Philosophy in the Commentary of Servius on the Eclogues, the Georgics and the Aeneid of Vergil" (doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, New York 1938).

133. On criticism and correction, see Leofranc Holford-Stevens, *Aulus Gellius* (Chapel Hill 1989), pp. 62, 148–150, 154–156. Cf. below, Chapter II, n. 33.

134. I leave to one side the vast topic of Vergil's influence on subsequent Latin poets, for which see Philip Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil. A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition*. See also above, nn. 4, 89.

135. Augustine, *Contra Academicos* III.9: poeta noster. This is an expression that does not appear in works that Augustine wrote after his period at Cassiciacum.

136. Werner Gauer, "Konstantin und die Geschichte. Zu den 'Spolien' am Konstantinsbogen und zur Schlangensäule," in *Panchaia. Festschrift für Klaus Thraede. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband* 22, pp. 131–140.

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purpose when addressing pagan contemporaries with quotations of Vergilian verses was precisely to help such individuals to forget their original understanding of these verses and to use the verses as a gateway to the "different life and the different customs"[137] that lay ahead in a Christian society.

Vergil was still being read and quoted; commentaries on him were still being compiled,[138] copied, and studied. There was thus a deep and enduring continuity between those who read Vergil in the heyday of the Roman Empire and those who read him when that empire no longer existed. But there was also a loss, a rupture of continuity and of understanding, when Vergil's verses were integrated into Christian argument. On occasion, Christian interpretation followed existing Vergilian scholarship, as when Lactantius and Augustine linked Vergil's description of the divinely ordered cosmos as discernible in the life of bees to his rendering of the same theme in Aeneas' visit to Elysium.[139] What such redeployments of Vergil's ideas were prone to miss, however, was the context of these ideas within the poet's work as a whole. These contexts were, on occasion, noticed by Vergil's pagan readers in late antiquity because they remained more directly involved with the scholarly traditions of Vergilian exegesis and with the endeavor of explaining the poet's original meaning.[140] An observation from Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* may serve as an illustration. Vergil had recounted how Aeneas, having been shipwrecked on the coast of Africa, made his way to Carthage and, standing on a hill, overlooked the new city being built: walls, citadel, harbor, and public spaces were all rising before his very eyes. It was as when

> . . . the bees in early summer pursue their work in the flowering fields
> in the sunshine. They bring out the young brood
> of their nation, and press down the flowing honey,
> filling up the cells with fragrant nectar;
> or else relieve incoming bees of their burden, or, forming a column,
> repulse the idle crowd of drones from the bee-folds.
> The work is thriving and the honey smells of thyme.

137. Augustine, *Epistulae* CCLVIII.5: Nunc hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat. Augustine then goes on to quote Eclogue IV.13–14.

138. In the commentaries on Vergil by the Christian Iunius Filargirius and in the *Scholia Bernensia*, a Christian layer was simply added to the basic pre-existing structure of the commentary so that a Christian interpretation became one of several possibilities without eliminating any of the older alternatives. For Fulgentius, see above, n. 88.

139. Above, nn.106–109; see also the Christian redeployment of Vergil's description of the society of bees in Ambrose, *Exameron* V.21.67–72.

140. For purposes of this discussion, I take Servius and Macrobius to have written as pagans, irrespective of what their confessional identity might actually have been. Like Aelius Donatus, who both wrote as a pagan and was one in the confessional sense (see Holz, *Donat*, pp. 21–23), Servius and Macrobius wrote about Vergil in disregard of whatever Christian components might have been added to the debate. With regard to an author's original meaning as viewed by Jerome in his capacity of commentator, see Holz, *Donat*, p. 44.

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Figure 4. Aeneas and Achates watch the building of Carthage. Supervisors dressed in long cloaks and tunics give instructions to workers in simpler attire.

> Here some men excavate the harbor, while others elsewhere
> place deep foundations for the theatre, and from the rock
> they carve great columns to adorn the stage that is to be.
> It is as when the bees in early summer pursue their work in the
> flowering fields
> in the sunshine.
>
> (*Aeneid* I.427–431)

Source: Vergilius Vaticanus, fol. 13r.

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> . . . apes aestate nova per florea rura
> exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
> educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella
> stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,
> aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
> ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent;
> fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.[141]

Commenting on "the young brood of their nation," Servius observed: "This pertains to the praises of the bees. 'The young of their nation' is well expressed, because they are not procreated by individuals, but come forth all from all, as may be better understood in the fourth book of the *Georgics*."[142]

Servius was here thinking of the passage in the *Georgics* that had also interested Lactantius and Augustine because in it, Vergil had described the order of the cosmos through the microcosm of the society of the bees, which collectively "possess a share of the divine mind," so that

> there is no room for death: alive they fly
> to join the stars and mount aloft to heaven.[143]

Apart from this issue, however, what in Servius' mind pertained to the especial praises of the bees was that, as Vergil had also explained, their young came into existence when they were gathered "from flowers and sweet herbs" by the honey-collecting worker bees: they were accordingly born collectively without sexual contact or the travail of labor, "all from all."[144] The beehive was therefore an apt image not only to illustrate cosmic order, but also to illustrate the founding of a city such as Carthage, the duration of which transcended individual mortality.

But as so often in Vergil, the positive and creative aspect of things was

141. *Aeneid* I.430–436; translation with help from C. Day Lewis. See further on this passage and its antecedent from *Georgica* IV.153–169, Gisela Klemke, *Beobachtungen zur Vergilischen Parataxe: das Phänomen der Entfaltung in der Aeneis* (Frankfurt 1989), pp. 96–99.

142. Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* I.431: GENTIS FETUS ad laudem apum hoc pertinet. *et bene "gentis fetus," quia non singulae de singulis nascuntur, sed omnes ex omnibus*, quod in quarto georgicorum melius intellegitur.

143. See above, n. 107.

144. *Georgica* IV.153, 198 ff.; see also on the bugonia, *Georgica* IV. 554 ff., with David O. Ross, *Vergil's Elements. Physics and Poetry in the Georgics*, pp. 208 ff. The idea of the asexual procreation of bees also appealed to Ambrose, *Exameron* V.21.67, and to Augustine, *De bono coniugali* II.2: in paradise, procreation might have happened without sexual contact: sive ergo sine coeundi conplexu alio aliquo modo, si non peccassent, habituri essent filios ex munere omnipotentissimi creatoris, qui potuit etiam ipsos sine parentibus condere, qui potuit carnem Christi in utero virginali formare et, ut iam ipsis infidelibus loquar, qui potuit apibus prolem sine concubitu dare. In *De trinitate* III.8.13, Augustine has become more certain: et certe apes semina filiorum non coeundo concipiunt, sed tanquam sparsa per terras ore colligunt. The reference is to Vergil, *Georgica* IV.200–201: verum ipsae e foliis natos, e suavibus herbis/ore legunt.

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inextricably mingled with its opposite, so that not everything about Vergil's bees was thyme-scented honey and collective survival.[145] This was evident to Macrobius, who mentioned the military activities, the battles of Vergil's bees alongside their more peaceful doings.[146] At the beginning of the second half of the *Aeneid*, bees announce, precisely, the theme of war that dominates this part of the poem. The Italians who greeted Aeneas and his Trojans upon their arrival in Italy were living in a state very close to primeval innocence. Their king, Latinus, had ruled for many years in peace, and the separation of the sacred from the secular, which marked more evolved societies, had not yet occurred.[147] So it was that the king's palace "raised high on a hundred columns" was at the same time a temple, the site of sacrifice and of banquets celebrated to honor the gods.[148] The king's daughter, Lavinia, was expected to become the wife of the nobly born Turnus, except that a portent had disrupted this expectation: a swarm of bees had arrived out of the transparent air and settled in the ancient laurel tree that grew in front of the palace, betokening the advent of strangers who would destroy the peaceful social order that had obtained so far. Those strangers were the Trojans, and they did destroy the society they found and ruled "in the high citadel."[149]

Whether in Carthage or in Italy, the bees represented an ordered society. Indeed, Augustine alluded to the bees of Carthage by way of describing the creative and orderly activity of Christian communities,[150] and

145. See, on this aspect of Vergil's thought, Ross, *Vergil's Elements*, pp. 189 ff. Further, for the present part of the argument, see W. R. Johnson, "Vergil's Bees: The Ancient Romans' View of Rome," in Annabel Patterson, ed., *Roman Images. Selected Papers from the English Institute*, 1982, pp. 1–22.

146. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* VI.6.19: Servius comments on Vergil's *figurae*, quoting *Georgica* IV.238: "adfixae venis, animasque in vulnera ponunt," et quicquid de apibus dixit in virorum fortium similitudinem, ut adderet quoque mores et studia et populos et proelia, quid plura, ut et Quirites vocaret. The mores, studia, and populi (quoted from *Georgica* IV.4–5) may be taken to refer both to *Georgica* IV and to the simile likening the building of Carthage to the activity of bees; the proelia and virorum fortium similitudo evoke the warlike work of bees mentioned in *Georgica* IV as well as the arrival of the swarm, representing the Trojans, in the laurel tree in front of Latinus' palace. Finally, in *Georgica* IV.201, Vergil describes the bees as Quirites. Macrobius thus appears to view all three of Vergil's bee passages conjointly, the point being that, unlike Christian exegetes, he is interested in Vergil's work as a corpus and in its entirety.

147. For such a vision of early society, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* VI.249–318, describing the ancient and domestic cult of Vesta.

148. *Aeneid* VII.45–46 (longa . . . in pace), 170–176.

149. The interpretation of the portent was, *Aeneid* VII.68–70:

> externum cernimus . . .
> adventare virum et partis petere agmen easdem
> partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce.

150. Augustine, *Epistulae* XLI.1; see Harald Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, testimonia 828, 856.

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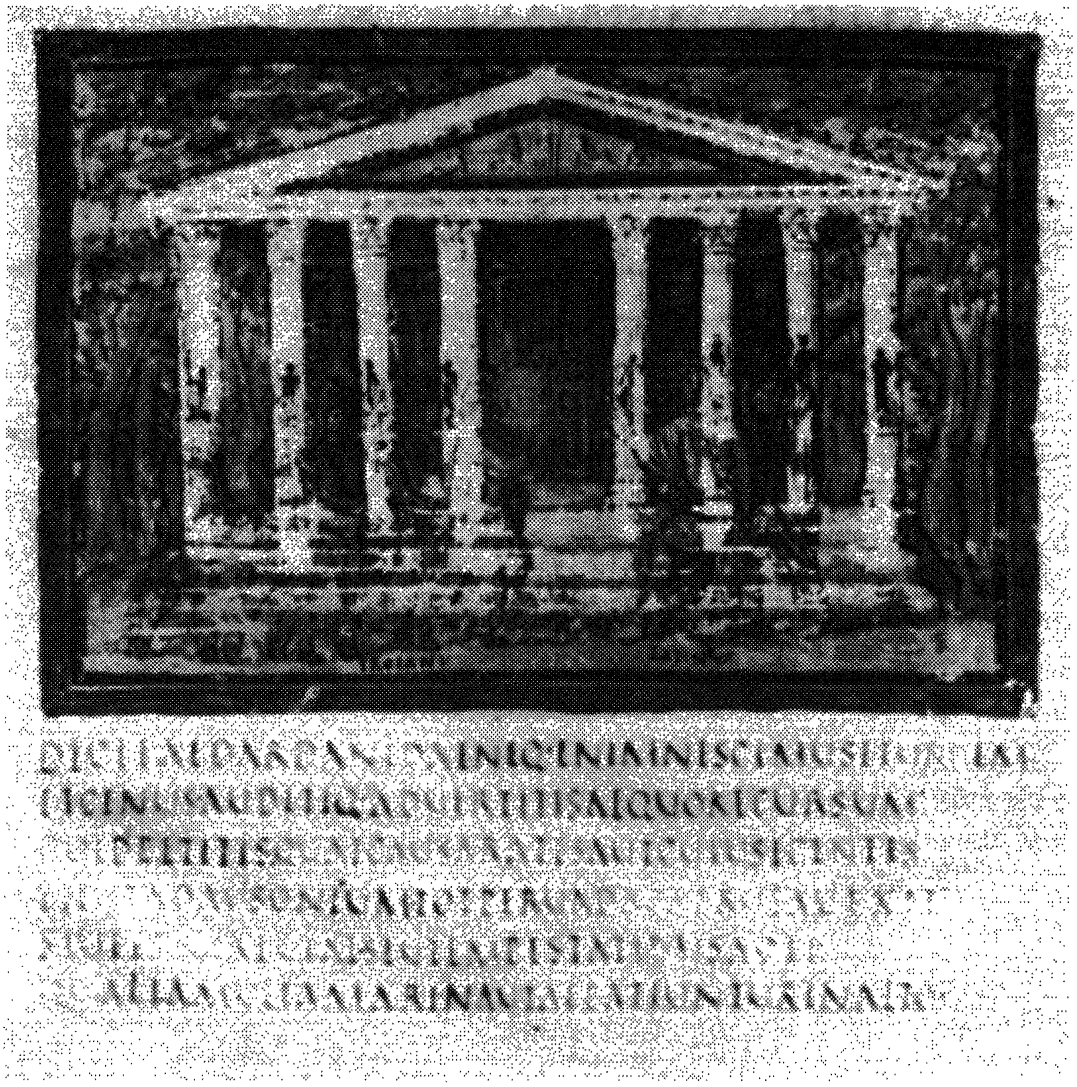

Figure 5. The ancestral dwelling of King Latinus, palace and temple in one, which sheltered the wooden images of his forebears. In the illustration, these images are displayed on pedestals in front of the columns of the building. Trojans approach the king, who sits enthroned at the entrance, and Vergil's text reproduces his words of welcome:

> Tell me, sons of Dardanus, for well we know your city
> and lineage, and you have come to us across the sea already famous,
> what do you seek? What cause, what need has driven your ships
> to this Ausonian shore across the countless dark waves?
> Whether straying from your course or tossed about by storms,
> by such trials as sailors must often endure on the deep,
> you have come to the banks of a river and have reached port:
> do not reject our welcome.
>
> (*Aeneid* VII.195–202)

Source: Vergilius Vaticanus, fol. 60v.

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elsewhere in Christian exegesis, Vergil's bees are exemplars of ethical integrity and of political and social order.[151] But the imposition of such Christian meanings on Vergil's text precluded reflection on the destructive potential of order, the kind of order with which the bees, "forming columns" like a Roman army, set about their work,[152] and the military precision with which a swarm of bees could descend on a tree, taking possession of it,[153] thereby betokening the bloody war that preceded the Trojan settlement in Italy and thus the foundation of Rome. Ambiguities of this kind, whereby a positive evolution enshrines its own negation, pervade Vergil's work.[154] On occasion, Augustine's pagan contemporaries noticed these dimensions in the poet's text, although often they endeavored to transform these latent meanings into some manner of positive certainty; as when Tiberius Claudius Donatus insisted on interpreting the death of the great Italian hero Turnus at the hands of Aeneas as an event redounding to the latter's glory.[155] Donatus wanted to understand the *Aeneid* as a panegyrical poem in praise of Aeneas, Augustus, and Rome,[156] a poem that had a uniform message and gave no real scope to the tragic story of Dido or to that of Turnus.[157] Christians likewise looked for certainty when reading Vergil, whether this was the certainty of knowing the identity of the messianic child of the fourth eclogue or the certainty of being able to explain to precisely what extent Vergil's theology was compatible with Christian theology.

151. Ambrose, *Exameron* V.21.67 ff.; see also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* V.11.2–4, comparing Vergil's bee simile of *Aeneid* I.430–436, discussed above at n. 141, to Homer's bee simile in *Iliad* II.87–93 and concluding: vides descriptas apes a Vergilio opifices, ab Homero vagas; alter discursum et solam volatus varietatem, alter exprimit nativae artis officium.

152. Note the military image in *Aeneid* VII.66, pedibus per mutua nexis, as though the bees were forming a line of battle; but Servius says, PER MUTUA invicem: et est absolutum. Melissus qui de apibus scripsit, ait duobus pedibus se tenent et duobus alias sustinent.

153. See Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* VII.66: OBSEDERE APICEM verbum oppugnationis est "obsedere," quo usus est signate propter bellum futurum.

154. Donatus thus observed that in the *Eclogues*, Vergil had sometimes written allegorically and sometimes not, it being the reader's task to interpret appropriately: Donatus, *Vita* (ed. Brummer), pp. 16–17: illud tenendum esse praedicimus, in bucolicis Vergili neque nusquam neque ubique aliquid figurate dici, hoc est per allegoriam.

155. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, pp. 640 ff., on *Aeneid* XII.945 ff.

156. See Starr, "An Epic of Praise."

157. In addition, the political events to which Vergil on occasion alluded were far distant in time and appeared irrelevant to the direct experience of his late antique readers, for whom the transformation of republic into empire had long ceased to be a burning issue; political events and personalities to whom Vergil referred were thus not infrequently misunderstood in late antiquity; see James E. G. Zetzel, "Servius and Triumviral History in the *Eclogues*," *Classical Philology* 79 (1984): 139–142; cf. Syme, "Pollio, Salonius and Salonae."

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Ultimately, however, the verses of Vergil defied such categorizations because they continued spilling off the page into the living reality of another day. "How small is the parchment that contains the measureless Vergil," the poet Martial had written in the late first century.[158] The way in which "the measureless Vergil" continued to haunt his readers during subsequent generations bears witness to the truth of Martial's words.[159]

158. Martial, *Epigrammata* (ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Stuttgart 1990), 14, 186:

> Quam brevis immensum cepit membrana Maronem!
> ipsius vultus prima tabella gerit.

The verses describe a Vergil codex with the poet's portrait at the beginning (cf. Ludwig Friedlaender, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri. Mit erklärenden Anmerkungen* [Leipzig 1886], *ad loc.*); for the author portraits of Vergil (none of which, however, serves as a frontispiece) in the Vergilius Romanus, see Wright, *Codicological Notes*, pp. 59 ff., 64 ff., 69 ff.

159. Michael McCormick, *Five Hundred Unknown Glosses from the Palatine Virgil (The Vatican Library, MS Pal. lat. 1631)* (Studi e Testi 343, Vatican 1992), provides new information and insight into how Vergil was studied in the ninth century; see also John J. Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468. A Ninth Century Guide to Virgil, Sedulius and the Liberal Arts* (Armarium Codicum Insignium vol. III, Turnholt 1984).

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CHAPTER II

"THE SCENT OF A ROSE"

Language and Grammar between Pagans and Christians

I

In the autumn of 387, Augustine and a small group of friends and students, along with his mother, were gathered on the country estate of Cassiciacum in northern Italy. The leaves were falling, and the sunny autumn days gradually turned into wintry days of mist, rain, and clouds while Augustine reflected with his companions on the Christian philosophy he had decided to embrace earlier that year.[1] After nine years of struggling with the alien imagery and cosmology of the Manichees, Augustine was not only returning to the religion he had been taught in childhood,[2] but was also spending time reflecting on the texts of the Roman classics, among them Cicero, Varro, and Vergil, which he had first studied when young. Long hours that passed in discussing the nature of knowledge, blessedness, and certainty were interspersed with periods of relaxation when Vergil's *Aeneid* was read or recited.[3]

1. Augustine, *Contra academicos* II.4.10 lovely weather; III.1.1: bad weather; *De beata vita* 23, morning mist; *De ordine* I.3.7, drainpipe blocked by autumn leaves; see Wolfgang Hübner, "Der *ordo* der Realien in Augustins Frühdialog *De ordine*," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 33 (1987): 23–48.

2. Augustine, *De utilitate credendi* I.2; *De duabus animabus* 1; cf. 11.

3. *Contra Academicos* I.5.15 reviewing *Aeneid* I; note that the quotation from the *Aeneid* in I.5.14 is from this book: line 401; *Contra Academicos* II.3.10 reviewing *Aeneid* II-IV; *Contra Academicos* III.1.1 Trygetius enjoys Vergil; *De ordine* I.7.26 listening to half a book of Vergil every evening before dinner. Karl Hermann Schelkle, *Virgil in der Deutung Augustins*, lists and

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